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Yugoslav War Crimes Commission Finishes Report

AU1604155994 Paris AFP in English 0158 GMT 16 Apr 94

[By Jean Michel Stoullig]

[Text] Geneva, April 16 (AFP)—An international commission of experts will present a 3,300-page report on crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia, with Serbs responsible for most of them, members of the commission said Friday [15 April].

The acting deputy prosecutor for the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, Australian Graham Blewitt, said he hoped the 11 judges of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in The Hague would start to examine the report by the end of the year.

On Thursday, the General Assembly of the United Nations voted 11 million dollars for the tribunal, set up in November 1993, to charge and prosecute all those responsible for crimes against humanity in the region.

"No one ethnic group or country bears responsibility" and violations have been committed by all the belligerents—Serbs, Croats and Moslems in the former Yugoslavia, the retiring head of the commission Sherif Bassiouni told reporters Friday. But "there is certainly one group in the conflict where a lot more violations have been reported than among the other groups," he said—a reference to the Serbs.

The commission report will be presented on May 2 to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and to the prosecutor of the tribunal. It documents specific cases of serious violations including mass executions, ethnic cleansing, rapes, the setting up of concentration camps and torture.

But Bassiouni, a U.S. law professor, refused to name both the suspected authors of the crimes and the number of cases cited, though he said a team of 30 women had interviewed over 200 rape victims to add to the data already filed.

"The events in Opstina Prijedor (northwest Bosnia) since April 1992 constitute crimes against humanity and that it would probably be possible to establish that genocide has been committed there," Bassiouni said Friday.

Bosnian Serb militia in Prijedor have frequently been accused of carrying out murder and ethnic cleansing, mainly against Moslems.

The commission also said "acts of wanton destruction were committed in the Medak pocket in September 1993" by Croatian forces against secessionist Serbs in Krajina. According to the United Nations, dozens of people were killed in Medak and more than 500 buildings destroyed.

The tribunal is still attempting to get permission to exhume the remains buried in mass graves at Vukovar, on the Croatian-Serbian border, where Croatians are believed to have been summarily executed at the end of 1991 following its capture by the Serbian-led Yugoslav army.

Asked about cases underway in Germany and Denmark against people charged with crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia, Blewitt said countries with the "legal competence and jurisdictions to do so," should prosecute cases, even if they were later transferred to the tribunal.

Earlier Friday, Bosnia-Herzegovina filed a legal brief Friday with the ICJ detailing human rights violations and war crimes against Bosnians by the rump Yugoslavia.

The ICJ has twice called on both parties to respect the UN convention, and asked each side to submit a detailed brief on the alleged crimes.

The rump Yugoslavia has said that it would file its brief in April 1995, which means that a public trial on the matter cannot be held before the summer of next year.

Central European Presidents Meet in Litomysl

Havel Opens News Conference

LD1504181594 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1407 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Opening statement by Czech President Vaclav Havel at a news conference on the results of a meeting of seven Central European presidents at Litomysl Castle—live]

[Excerpts] At the beginning of our talks I thanked all our guests, the presidents, for accepting this invitation and for coming to Litomysl. It appears that all of them were pleased to come and that they regard this meeting as meaningful. [passage omitted]

Our discussion was very intensive, and when it was over it seemed to us that it was, in fact, a very short discussion. We do not consider it to be the culmination of the meeting but only its beginning. We will have many more discussions before tomorrow afternoon when we leave.

In the conversation we just had, each of the presidents delivered his own opening statement in which he contemplated the position of the Central European region, above all in connection with the processes of European integration. We have arrived at the consensus that while we met precisely in this setup, it does not mean we are colluding against someone else, or even that we consider ourselves better or more advanced than others. We are meeting as representatives of countries that feel their mutual closeness, not only in geographical terms but also in terms of values, cultural traditions, and history.

No differences between individual participants appeared in the opening statements we gave. It turned out that there was complete accord among us as far as the most general topic was concerned. So much for the brief opening. The presidents can speak for themselves when answering your questions. [passage omitted]

Slovak President Meets Reporters

LD1504182694 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1420 GMT 15 Apr 94

[News conference by Slovak President Michal Kovac with unidentified correspondents and moderater after the first meeting of Central European presidents at Litomysl Castle—live]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Moderator] Floor to the spokesman of Slovak President Kovac.

[Unidentified spokesman] A Slovak Television editor will ask President Kovac a question.

[Correspondent, in Slovak] Much has been written about Slovakia regarding relations between Slovakia and Hungary in the context of Central European countries. From the outside these relations might indeed appear rather dramatic, but the reality is a little different. What, in your view, is the outlook for the new coalition government being able to solve this problem? I have in mind the resolution of Slovak-Hungarian relations.

[Kovac] As you know, questions of a general nature were raised during the discussions so far. This does not mean, however, that in this group of states we would underestimate questions related to the minorities. As far as relations between the Republic of Hungary and the Republic of Slovakia are concerned, after the passage of some time, I am able to say better times are in the offing. At the same time, it transpires that the issue of national minorities, or perhaps the debate—or rather the insufficient debate—between the Hungarian and Slovak Republics on this issue has made it possible to exaggerate and dramatize the existing problem.

I firmly believe that given our efforts aimed at becoming incorporated into the European integration, the issue of national minorities in the Central European region will not be an issue presenting a problem, and that we will manage to successfully resolve it among ourselves, and that by doing so we will, at the same time, demonstrate that we are capable of a partnership coexistence in the Central European region. We will thus secure for ourselves some kind of a passport for entering the European integration. [passage omitted]

[Moderator] A question for President Kovac from an editor of the Bratislava-based PRACA daily.

[Correspondent] [passage omitted] Foreign commentaries voice views casting doubt on Slovakia's intention to integrate into European economic, democratic, or security structures. As if by chance, Slovakia is being left out regarding the Central European Initiative. Do you think that there is any justification for doing this?

[Kovac] On the whole I am not convinced that responsible West European state officials are intentionally leaving Slovakia out as one of the possible candidates for West European integration. [passage omitted]

The other thing is that the Slovakia's internal policy might have provoked a certain lack of confidence as to whether the political situation in the Slovak Republic was sufficiently stable, whether political entities and governments linked to them were a reliable guarantor of what was being declared. I used every occasion, also when speaking with the gentlemen present here, to stress that the internal instability caused by the lack of a clear picture of individual political entities is one thing, while the stability of the pluralistic system which has been adopted and the Slovak Republic's foreign policy trends are a different matter.

Following certain changes that have taken place, this issue has now been clarified. I believe that all doubts will disappear and that our partners will show trust in us and an understanding of certain problems we have so far suffered, being a new state. [passage omitted]

Integration, Balkans Discussed

LD1604181294 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 0930 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Debate with Presidents Thomas Klestil of Austria, Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic, Richard von Weizsaecker of Germany, Arpad Goncz of Hungary, Lech Walesa of Poland, Michal Kovac of Slovakia, and Milan Kucan of Slovenia in Litomysl, Czech Republic; moderated by political analyst Jacques Rupnik—live]

[Excerpts] [Rupnik] As far as supranational cooperation is concerned, we see that it does not work everywhere. States are disappearing or are being created, and it leads in some cases, particularly in the Balkans, to a very dangerous situation. For the first time since 1945, we have a war in Europe. What does it mean to divide states along ethnic criteria, change borders by force, and create national states based on ethnic homogeneity? President Kucan, this is a question addressed straight to you. How did you live through that period of time in Yugoslavia? Three years ago did you have an inkling of the closeness between the desire for freedom and the possibility of war?

[Kucan, in Slovene with simultaneous translation into Czech] I think it was not difficult at that time to think of these two realities as being close to each other. Initially, it seemed the conflict was limited by Yugoslavia itself. It must be forcefully declared that what happened in Yugoslavia and what is now happening in the Balkans is a defeat of (?Roehmer's) principles. I am sure that the defeat in this specific case can become a lesson for the whole of Europe. Many mistakes were committed here and three of them are exceptionally important.

The first is the misunderstanding and the unwillingness to understand that Yugoslavia had to disintegrate. It functioned only temporarily in the form of a multinational state. Yugoslavia could exist only while centralism existed. Disintegration was inevitable the moment this ceased.

The second mistake was linked to the incorrect interpretation of this war, particularly in Bosnia-Herzegovina, as an internal war between ethnic groups, because this does not correspond to the basis of this war.

The third mistake, connected with the first one, is that there was never a real interest in looking into the real essence of instability in the Balkans—and in consequence—of instability in former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted] It is necessary to seek the reason for this instability. The reason lies in Serbia's very complicated ethnic and especially national problem. I suppose the Serbs wish to resolve the national question which is, of course, as legitimate as in the case of other nations. However, there is a question mark over the forms and methods used to solve this question. From the point of view of the Paris (?meeting) and [word indistinct] principles this method of ethnic cleansing and of forceful border changing is in effect a genocidal matter. This is all absolutely inhuman.

Everything which is done to solve a problem in isolation, in isolation from the basic internal problem of the Balkan region—by which I mean resolving the ethnic questions—creates an acute danger of war. An attempt must be made to stabilize the Balkan region on a more permanent basis. [passage omitted on past conflicts]

I think that what is happening now, as a result of direct pressure from Washington and Moscow, is the most important way towards a halt to the war. This is enormously important, but there is something even more important here, and that is the talks with the right partners, which means talks with Belgrade, Sarajevo, and Zagreb. This would represent a recognition of the real nature of this war.

Two years ago, when the war started, it was possible to delineate the framework of this war. [passage indistinct] Then, of course, Croatia was not involved in this war in Bosnia in the way it is today. If the diagnosis was made correctly at that time, the price would not have been so high, there would not have been 100,000 people dead, 600,000 people expelled, and a huge number of people wounded, incapacitated, and damaged by other means. This all could happen, but now a real solution of the Balkan crisis is at stake. [passage omitted on Klestil discussing unacceptability of ethnic cleansing and suggesting that agreement between the West and Russia might lead to pressure on Belgrade]

[Rupnik] Russia is not returning only to the Balkans, but also to the near abroad [blizke zahranici]. How do you assess this development in Russian policy and what does it mean for Central Europe? President Walesa?

[Walesa, in Polish with simultaneous translation into Czech] Of course after the period of division into two poles, Russia and Europe are seeking solutions by means of evolution. The time is coming when we should define certain principles and points where our minds meet. If we do not do this, then Yugoslavia must be considered as a challenge and as a warning. Let us imagine the countries of the post-Soviet Union. And there [words indistinct] for example, in Latvia, 40 percent support Russia's Boris Yeltsin. If something similar happened elsewhere, then we would be confronted with a total catastrophe. So, it is necessary to mark the danger [bodovat], it is necessary to discuss interests and (?human) categories.

If we fail to reach such agreements as have been reached in Central Europe and Europe overall, if we fail to submit these problems jointly and of course assess them, then of course it will be an incentive for Russia to settle things in the old way. We need here the democratic principles recognized by Europe. And in this sense, we have to help Russia in this direction.

However, the Russia that puts forth conditions, wanting to be a partner, but not a real partner; the meaning of which they do not understand.... [pauses] If one is a partner, the same principles and conditions should apply and not [word indistinct], not a policeman or something undefined. This all has to be discussed jointly and certain values have to be

defended jointly. Then we will avoid the Yugoslav example and [word indistinct] with part of Russia. This will be the right thing for Russia and a blessing for us all. If we fail to do it, certain groups in Russia will take advantage of the indecision in parts of Europe.

[Rupnik] Mr. President, do you think the Partnership for Peace program is the right solution for the security of Central Europe and, among other things, its relationship with Russia?

[Havel] I think Russia is and always will be, or will be for rather a long time, a great Eurasian superpower, a superpower which even possesses nuclear weapons. I cannot imagine peace in Europe, or in the world, without some kind of relationship based on partnership between the West and Russia. Perhaps the Partnership for Peace program can serve as a starting point for creating that kind of partnership.

There is, however, a difference between this and the position of our states which feel they belong to the West and, because they are small, they need certain security guarantees and ties. We understand Partnership for Peace both as an opportunity and as the beginning of the path towards NATO membership. We cannot be merely NATO's partners, we want, indeed we must, be a part of it.

We are in a completely different position from Russia. I think that some of the ideas now emerging in Russian politics should be really sharply criticized and denounced. I mean ideas to the effect that, somehow, just because Russia is such a big state, it kind of owns us and automatically enjoys the right to advise us, its closer or more distant neighbors, and tell us whom we are or are not allowed to join. This must be rejected quite unequivocally. Our countries are particularly sensitive to this sort of thing and, simply, we want to be a part of something we feel we belong to in the first place.

This does not mean that we are against anybody or that we do not wish to have a good relationship with Russia. On the contrary, let me reiterate that good relations between the West and Russia are the necessary prerequisites for virtually everything else, for any European integration processes. Don't you think that Russia ought not claim superpower status on the one hand, while at the same time enjoying the same rights as the small Central European countries? Russia really cannot keep saying—Why can you be NATO members but we cannot? Well, this is quite absurd, isn't it? [passage omitted on von Weizsaecker on the European Union's political and security dimension, Partnership for Peace]

[Rupnik] President Kucan.

[Kucan, in Slovene with simultaneous translation into Czech] I think that what we heard from President Havel was very important. The point is that we want more than just a partnership. I believe it must be recognized that where we live in the world must be taken into account. We want more than just a partnership—namely NATO membership and participation in the system of collective security in Europe. From this point of view, it is very important that the Partnership for Peace program is not concerned with security alone.

All participating states are obliged to attain a high level of democracy and this gives rise to the question—How do we tackle the issues of the political neutrality of the army, the transparency of the armed forces' numbers, and the question of the joint functioning of the army and society in the sense that there is adequate control over the armed forces. It is indeed necessary to ensure complete control over the armed forces. The danger, the possibility, that certain armed forces or certain countries can be drawn into solving issues concerning all citizens still exists.

At the time of gaining its independence, Slovenia, too, went through a complicated stage. It was necessary to wage a war, albeit a short one, and now a rather complicated situation has come into being. With all respect for the army, it is necessary to establish adequate control over it so democracy can fully develop and it is absolutely clear that we respect all the values of all citizens, including the issue of the armed forces.

[Rupnik] President Goncz, if you please. President Kovac to follow.

[Goncz, in Hungarian with simultaneous translation into Czech] I absolutely agree with Presidents Havel and Kucan. The Partnership for Peace program alone is not enough. It is a certain step towards peace, it is an important step which makes open cooperation, even military, possible. But we perceive the issue of peace and partnership in a different way.

Apart from the military sphere, there is also the sphere of human rights and environment as mentioned by President Walesa a while ago. There is also the issue of nuclear power stations. I would also like to bring up the issue of security in terms of the society. Our country is wrestling with difficult economic problems. Headway should be made on the path of modernization and if this headway is not made, then we cannot guarantee the security of society. To this end it is necessary to understand the Partnership in a broader context of European politics. We shall be unable to develop our own markets until markets are opened to us. On the contrary, our markets will contract and while they are contracting, we ourselves will not represent a good market either. We want market for market. Europe is economically intertwined. So far, Europe has been an impenetrable market for us.

[Kovac, in Slovak] I think the issue of Central European security involves two important processes. These processes should run concurrently. One of them has already begun and was generated by our interest in NATO membership and by our joining the Partnership for Peace program. But what is of equal importance is that NATO, Western Europe, and the United States of America should cooperate as closely as possible with Russia. We realize that overrating some of these processes and underrating others might not necessarily

result in a feeling of security in Central European countries. It might possibly yield potential hotbeds for a certain destabilization of the situation in Europe.

From this point of view we realize that nowadays, to consolidate democracy in Russia, it is very important to help Russia tackle her economic problems. The other thing I have in mind is closely linked to this issue, and that is Ukraine should be helped to preserve its sovereignty.

All these factors are very important, because apart from our gradual rapprochement to NATO, they could give us—the countries stuck in the middle of this region—a fuller and more lasting feeling of security.

[Rupnik] Thank you. President Klestil.

[Klestil, in German with simultaneous translation into Czech] It is difficult to answer questions to which we do not have specific answers. In 1996, the European Union [EU] is supposed to discuss the future of common security and foreign policy. On the other hand, we are seeing developments in Russia, Belarus, Ukraine, and we do not know in what direction they are going to continue. Therefore, it is important to take small steps in the West, but we must think about Russia and Ukraine being nuclear powers and we must involve them in the process of all European security considerations. If we talk about security, about the danger people fear, then it concerns nuclear power stations. We should set ourselves a long-term aim of creating a nuclear free zone in Central Europe. As it is impossible to attain this aim from one day to the next, it would be necessary to make a list of security measures, measures to deepen trust. They should be similar to those on which we agreed yesterday with President Havel regarding the Czech Republic and Austria; for example, on opening nuclear power stations for inspections, introducing a telephone hotline, early warning systems. All this would, in my opinion, help to reduce public fear of danger.

[Rupnik] The fall of communism presented a challenge to Europe as a whole. Some of you have already mentioned security integration, or in other words NATO and Partnership for Peace. Integration into the EU is also linked to it. How do you see this process? Can European integration be enlarged eastward, or is there not a danger that the disintegration processes from the East might spread westward? After all, this is a game for time. How do you see current prospects of economic integration? Does the EU meet your expectations? [passage omitted on Walesa comparing European integration to the movement of a car; Weizsaecker comparing integration of former East Germany into West Germany with integration of Central Europe into Western Europe; Klestil on the need to show solidarity and patience with post-communist countries]

[Rupnik] President Kovac, if you please.

[Kovac, in Slovak] When expressing our desire to become integrated into Europe, we realize this should not be an integration that would weaken existing European structures and the objective of every integration should be to consolidate these structures. In this respect, I think that as far as integration into the EU is concerned, the EU has been taking positive and accommodating steps. [passage omitted]

But from this point of view, it seems to me that the issue of incorporating into the EU—in particular into its economic part—is one thing, while incorporating Central European countries into the political and security structures is yet another. At the same time, the process of economic incorporation is a more difficult and more long-term affair. Most of us realize that it is not a question of two or three years. But during the in-between period, we do not wish to be in some kind of vacuum regarding the precise definition of our incorporation. That is why I think certain measures should be reassessed in this respect.

Naturally, the Partnership for Peace amounts to a certain testing of our abilities. However, as long as we do not possess straightforward criteria and positions on this issue, we will still have a very strong feeling of being in danger. That is not good, I think, because this process could, in effect, bring certain disillusionment among our citizens. At the same time, we know the citizens of Central European countries are displaying an almost spontaneous will to be incorporated into both political and security structures. [passage omitted]

[Walesa, in Polish with simultaneous translation into Czech] I think we should try to answer another question: Whether the integration should be continuous or whether it should be an integration in leaps. It has become clear that at present continuous integration is probably more suitable. [passage omitted]

I think we have to consider continuous integration with its strategic points outlined. This will be wise and it will provide an option of future development for all of us.

[Kucan, in Slovene with simultaneous translation into Czech] I perceive the question, our dilemma, as a question of whether every extension of EU membership—and that is something necessary—is strengthening its internal qualities. The fact is that until the Maastricht Treaty, this was a difficult process and now it will be even more difficult. However, despite everything, this is the only way to progress. [passage omitted]

To halt the integration would in practice put an end to the existence of the West. However, it is necessary to respect the fact that Europe is still divided, to a certain degree. [passage omitted]

Serreqi Views Greek Crisis, Relations

AU1604194894 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Five days after the terrorist attack of the Greek commando unit against a military objective within our territory, during which two of our officers were killed and three wounded, this unprecedented event continues to be at the center of domestic and foreign mass media reports. The People's Assembly discussed this criminal act again today. In today's proceedings, in the name of the government, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi presented a report concerning the Albanian-Greek relations in the light of the present crisis. Our reporter, present at today's session, has prepared the following report:

The 10 April tragic event continues to be at the center of our public's attention. After the official pronouncement and that of the various political forces, associations, etc. at today's People's Assembly session, in the name of the government Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi spoke about Albanian-Greek relations in light of the recent events. In his speech to the deputies he said:

[Begin Serreqi recording] As I will shortly summarize, the course of Albanian-Greek relations, as neighboring countries and peoples and as the most ancient peoples in the region, shows that the general framework of interstate relations is at first view characterized by several zig-zags and oscillations. In its essence, it has, however, some constants and several conditions that should be accepted and objectively and realistically assessed. On the basis of mutual efforts and reciprocal interest and respect, efforts should be made to smooth out these zig-zags, and if possible to eliminate them.

I should first assert that Albania has put an end to isolation once and for all—the isolation of its policy and the Don Quixotism of the policy of drop dead toward the whole world. Albania is simultaneously liberated from that illusory naivete so that we will ensure a continuous and permanent assistance from everyone, without a justification and motivation.

What are those circumstances that have conditioned and still condition Albanian-Greek relations?

I would say that first, it is the reality of present Albania, of an Albania that has taken the road of democracy, an Albania that is already passing the transition successfully and is accomplishing the market economy.

Second, it is the internal Greek reality, of which I hope that you have been informed.

Third, it is the fact that we are neighboring countries, and between neighboring countries relations of neighborliness are, of course, liberated from the illusion of good unconditional neighborliness. Of course there are problems, however, between neighbors and these problems should be overcome.

I want to stress that there is a very important thesis, i.e., the stance toward the crisis in former Yugoslavia which, despite the actual elements, is taking proportions almost similar to a Balkan crisis. In connection with this, I want to differentiate what is the stance toward the great all-national Albanian problem.

Finally, I should take into consideration the circumstances that Greece is the only Balkan country, member of the European Union, which is not running successfully the presidency for its six-month period. Greece is a NATO member—even this is a circumstance that should be considered. There is also another very important circumstance—the admission of the early Albanians in Greece and the admission of the Greek minority in Albania.

Of course, the policy of a state, its philosophy toward the minority, and the democratic dimension of a society can turn a minority into a communication bridge that eases relations, but simultaneously can turn it into a Trojan Horse or a factor that aggravates them.

There is also another problem. It is the Cam problem, which is put forward by the diplomacy of the democratic government and which should not be ignored. There exists another circumstance which has influenced, though not little, the Albanian-Greek relations—the mentality, technocratic philosophy, and the influence of the Greek church in the entire policy of the Greek state, the Greek Government, and the attempts to infringe the autocephaly of the Albanian Church.

At the same time, there are circles and mentalities which are not liberated from historically known prejudices of the Greek policy, such as expansionism and the North Epirus claims. We are all informed that certain circles, which can by no means be believed when they claim to be completely unsupported or only partly supported by the Greek Government, follow a policy with a [word indistinct] tendency in that sphere that they consider to be their area.

In connection with this, it is not at all difficult to make an analysis how the assistance is spread. Not only in the humanitarian aspect, but also concerning the activity of the economic assistance and the Greek business in Albania, we will observe a geography that does not conform to those criteria and priorities that our country possesses for the northeastern areas, as the areas with the most difficult situations and the most backward areas from the economic point of view.

It is clear to all that the Greek side has not had a demarcation line and a clear attitude between economic cooperation with Albania and the efforts to exploit this with a [word indistinct] tendency. In connection with this, I want to stress that Albania, as I first said, is not at all against cooperation and harmony in all fields. However, from now on, as Albania has always considered this, but from now on more clearly, Albania will separate what is called a cooperation with the one that is called Hellenism.

Another element that should be considered is the presence of the Albanian economic emigrants in Greece. No one from us here wants Albanian-Greek relations to bring economic consequences to the Albanian families. On this occasion, I want to avail myself of the opportunity to thank the generosity of the Greek people who have welcomed the Albanian emigrants at this difficult period of transition and in a way have eased those economic difficulties that our country was encountering during this period.

At the same time, I want to make clear that the Albanian economic emigration is not at all a source of the increase of crime in Greece, a claim which has been several times put forward by the Greek side. I want to remind you that if we make an analysis of the Greek emigrants in other countries, we will recollect that at its peak, the Greek emigrants in the United States have the responsibility for the highest crime rate in the United States, as the Italian emigrants kept it at the time of its highest peak in Italy.

Thus, if we consider all these conditions and factors that condition Albanian-Greek relations, we would say that in the relations between Albania and Greece, there has been a constant that, if at first looks like a zigzag—sometimes very good and sometimes very aggravated relations—, this is an illusory conclusion. There is a dimension that is connected to the internal situations, there is a dimension that is connected to bilateral relations, there is a dimension that is related to the regional situation, and there is a dimension that is more widely connected to our whole continent.

First, I want to stress once again that, as we all know, the unprecedented terroristic act that occurred on 10 April can be blamed on the Greek Government. I do not consider it as lightning that strikes in a cloudless sky, but as part of the wave of previous events. I want to stress that all the Albanian political forces in general have agreed with the way the event has been treated. Perhaps there may be a difference in approving or not the reactions of the Albanian Government and in the degree of responsibility of the Greek Government.

The thing that strikes you most is the reaction or non-reaction of the Greek Government, the fact of not taking the responsibility, the absence of cooperation needed to throw light on the event, something that may have been partly corrected after the reactions of the Albanian Government, reactions that are already known. I hope there is no need to discuss it any longer.

What are the recent events? The recent event is the proposal that came through the diplomatic channel from the Greek Government to cooperate in a joint commission that will investigate and examine the event in detail, and a proposal for a meeting between the foreign ministers in a neutral country or at a multilateral activity.

Concerning these two proposals, because as I mentioned above, the policy of closing has finished for us, we are for dialogue and for overcoming the difficulties, considering that a tension in the south will highly aggravate the situation in the region.

Concerning these two proposals, the Albanian Government has answered positively, both for the joint investigation of the event and a possible meeting between foreign ministers. I have proposed a meeting in Bucharest on the occasion of the activity of Crans Montana, where I am invited and I will attend.

Regarding the international reaction, you know that the whole problem is up for discussion at the Security Council and it will be examined at a meeting of European Union foreign ministers. The case is put forward in the CSCE structures and the High Commission for Human Rights. Generally speaking and in a clear way, it results that the act has been condemned, the responsibility of the Greek Government has come out clearly, and the stance of the Albanian Government has been approved.

In conclusion, I judge that we should have no complexes and debasements, as the country's sovereignty, the fate of democracy, reform, European integrity and above all the grand pan-Albanian problem cannot pass through any capital of the world, cannot pass through any party in the world, whatever and wherever it can be, even less through Athens and through PASOK [Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement]. They are more than ever in the hand of the Albanian democratic sovereign state and of the Albanians everywhere in the world, as history [word indistinct) years. Thank you. [end recording]

The People's Assembly ended proceedings for this week. The next session opens at 1000 on Wednesday.

Ministry Denies Greek Version of Events

AU1504200194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Statement from the Albanian Foreign Ministry issued in Tirana on 15 April—read by announcer]

[Text] Concerning the misinterpretations that have come from the Greek side on several aspects of the contacts between the Albanian and Greek sides on the criminal act by a Greek terrorist unit on 10 April at an army recruit training center in Peshkepi in the Gjirokaster district, we issue the following statement:

Among other things, the letter that the Greek foreign minister sent to the UN Security Council chairman on 13 April 1994 claims that the Albanian foreign minister has not yet responded to his Greek counterpart's proposal to meet to resolve the crisis. It should be stressed that through its ambassador in Tirana, the Greek side proposed a meeting between the foreign ministers of both countries in Geneva on the occasion of a bilateral conference. This was done at a time when the Greek official reaction was not at all characterized by a will to treat the case at the proper level or with any seriousness

or analyze the criminal act and discover and convict those responsible. The Greek statements did not even see fit to express any regret for the victims and their families.

Despite this totally unjustifiable position and considering that he had no invitation to attend the bilateral activity in Geneva, the Albanian foreign minister expressed his readiness to meet his Greek counterpart in the most recent bilateral activity, that of Crans Montana held in Bucharest, of course, after the Greek Government had given an official response. We add that this answer arrived yesterday, on 14 April, through the Greek ambassador in Tirana.

Today, on 15 April 1994, we have informed the Greek side that the Albanian Government is ready for dialogue. The foreign policy of the new democratic Albania has left behind the period of communist isolation and it has never closed the way to dialogue for resolving all the problems that exist between Albania and other countries. Its relations with the Greek state do not make any exception from this principle of its policy.

Regarding the version contained in the Greek foreign minister's letter addressed to the UN Security Council chairman that the Albanian authorities were very late in informing the Greek side about the act of 10 April 1994, we can refer to the refutation by the Public Order Ministry on 13 April. According to this, the Greek side was informed at 0500 on the morning of 10 April by a border guard officer at the Albanian border crossing of Kakavije, who went and met a border guard officer on the Greek side to inform him about the crime and to ask him to help apprehend the criminals. Nevertheless, no offer of cooperation came from the Greek side.

Ministry Protests More Greek 'Provocative Acts'

AU1504203994 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Provocative acts against Albania are still continuing. At about 1200 on 14 April 1994, approximately 150 Greek soldiers not only approached the official Albanian border in the Kakavije region but, after being deployed on the terrace of a Greek border post building, carried out surveillance of Albanian territory using a camera. At 1300 they withdrew deep into their own country.

After the 10 April massacre, this action is another provocative act leading to a further aggravation of tension and military pressure by the Greek side on the Albanian border. This provocative act runs counter to the norms of good faith defined in international acts that regulate the good neighborly relations between states.

We were also informed that at 1030 today, about 2 miles into our territorial waters, at latitude 40 degrees and longitude 19 degrees 41 minutes, one of our naval patrol boats in Borshi Bay detained a Greek fishing vessel, the Aios Vasilis, captained by Petro Xharka, for violating Albanian laws by carrying out unlicensed fishing in Albanian waters.

In conformity with the rules and legal procedures, this ship was accompanied to the port of Sarande and was handed over to the relevant authorities for further action.

At 1125 today a Greek military patrol vessel was detected approaching the Greek fishing boat detained by our naval patrol boat. At 1130 this Greek warship stopped at latitude 39 degrees 38 minutes and longitude 19 degrees 43.5 minutes, about 20.5 miles into our waters.

Considering that the Greek warship violated Albanian rules, our patrol boat requested that the warship left Albanian waters immediately. At first the Greek P-52 vessel refused to accept that it was in Albanian waters. However, later, at about 1230, the warship left for Greek waters, where it remained until 1320.

This incursion and stay of the Greek patrol boat is another provocative action that may cause extremely grave consequences. Our navy is seriously committed to defending legality and sovereignty in our territorial waters.

Under these conditions, the Defense Ministry of the Republic of Albania asks the relevant authorities of the Greek Army to prevent and avoid such military actions that incite and increase tension on the official border of the Republic of Albania and further aggravate interstate relations that may lead to dangerous consequences.

Foreign Ministry Sends Note

AU1604200094 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] As has been reported, at about 1030 on 15 April, at Borshi Bay, Albanian coast guard forces detected and detained the Greek ship Aios Vasilios while it was sailing about 2 miles into Albanian territorial waters. An hour later a Greek warship approached the fishing ship apprehended by our forces.

The Albanian torpedo-boat notified the Greek warship of having entered Albanian waters and urged it to leave. The Greek warship left only after one hour.

Concerning this provocation by the Greek side, the Embassy of the Republic of Albania in Athens sent a note, in the name of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Albania, to the Foreign Ministry of Greece, asking the Greek Government to put an end to such actions, which impair the relations between the two countries and increase tension, by designating them as a continuation of previous Greek provocative actions and of the criminal event in Peshkepi in Gjirokaster village on 10 April 1994.

The provocation in our territorial waters does not help but prevents the creation of the minimal necessary conditions and runs counter to the proposal by the Greek side itself to hold a meeting with the working groups of the Public Order Ministries of the two countries, the Albanian note ends.

Greek Proposal To Assess Attack Rejected

AU1504205194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Statement by the Government of the Republic of Albania issued in Tirana on 15 April—read by announcer]

[Text] Today, on 15 April 1994, the Greek ambassador to Tirana presented to the Foreign Ministry Note Verbal No. 435 in which he informed the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Albania that, on the basis of the talks held in Tirana during the visit of the Greek deputy public order minister on 8 and 9 March 1994, he proposed that the working groups of the Public Order Ministries of both countries hold a meeting in Ioanniana on 20 April 1994, as scheduled in the plan. This meeting would examine the circumstances of the tragic 10 April incident.

The Government of the Republic of Albania agrees to hold the meeting scheduled for 20 April and exchange information on the terrorist act of 10 April.

However, considering the gravity of the Peshkepi massacre and a number of indisputable facts, such as the arrival from Greece and the return there of the terrorist unit, the fact that its members were wearing Greek uniforms, the objects found at the scene of the crime, the fact that they were Greek-speaking people, the military character of the target chosen for the attack, the methods used in commiting the crime, the repeated character of the military provocations, and many other pieces of evidence, the Albanian Government considers that the Greek side cannot take part in the assessment of the incident. Thus, the government thinks that the assessment of the incident should be done by an impartial commission set up by the European Union and the CSCE.

'Mass Expulsions' of Emigrants From Greece

AU1704181794 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 15 Apr 94 p 1

[Report by Fatos Baxhaku: "Expulsions Resume"]

[Text] Tirana—Tension between Albania and Greece continues to rise after the 10 April terrorist assassination in the barracks in Peshkepi. Following mutual diplomatic recriminations, the two countries have raised the level of alert for their troops along the border and the first group of expelled Albanian refugees has now arrived in their homeland. On 13 April the Greek Defense Ministry ordered the 8th Division, which is deployed along the southern Albanian border, to maintain the highest possible level of alertness. The Albanians have also increased their military alertness on the other side of the border. "We have our men and units there and we will not allow such terrorist acts to be repeated," said Agim Shehu, a high-level Public Order Ministry official in Tirana, at a meeting organized with journalists.

Meanwhile, the first mass expulsions of Albanian refugees from Greece after the verification of the terrorist incident have taken place. On 14 April the Greek authorities expelled more than 1,500 Albanian refugees. Most of them passed through the Kakavije border post, only a few km from the point where the innocent victims were killed.

The bitter diplomatic war between Tirana and Athens continues. The Albanian Foreign Ministry has decided to cut its staff in Greece and at the same time has demanded reciprocal measures from the Greek side. A note delivered to the Greek ambassador in Tirana has demanded the reduction of the number of diplomatic staff in Tirana to six. The Greek diplomats must leave Albanian territory within 10 days. Robo, first secretary of the Albanian Embassy in Athens, and Iacovou, Greek consul in Gjirokaster, left their posts yesterday. Tirana made this decision on the basis of the lack of a reciprocal agreement on the number of necessary diplomatic staff. Thus, contacts between Albanian and Greece are reduced to the lowest level since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1971.

Albanian experts believe that there is no doubt that special Greek forces were the culprits in the massacre at Peshkepi, and that the assassination was planned. Two high-level Public Order Ministry officials, Shehu and Mucmataj, confirmed this conclusion once again, showing journalists material proof that, according to them, demonstrated this. "The commandos' behavior, the precise selection of the target for their attack, the Greek military uniforms, and objects found at the scene of the incident all support our conclusion," Shehu said. Athens continues to deny this. According to its spokesman Evangelos Venizelos, the Greek Government is still awaiting Tirana's response to its proposal for the creation of a joint commission to investigate the incident. Moreover, Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias has proposed to his Albanian counterpart Serreqi a meeting in a neutral country to discuss the possibility of settling the crisis between the two countries.

In the meantime, an investigation of the Albanian servicemen accused of negligence of military responsibilities has also begun. According to Mucmataj, three Albanian officers are under investigation. An inspector of the Border Police from Gjirokaster and two servicemen in the unit where the murders took place are to face proceedings, after being released after two days' detention. "It is up to the procurator to make further decisions," Mucmataj said.

Journalists League Protests Serb Detentions

AU1704163494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Statement by the Albanian Journalists League; place and date not given—read by announcer]

[Text] At 1500 on 12 April the Serbian police at the border point of Qafe Morine held Adeleide Filket Timer, chief of the Albanian section of the German Radio Deutsche Welle, and the radio's correspondent in Tirana, Dr. Apollon Bace, who is a member of the Albanian Journalists League, for seven hours. They were in Yugoslavia and the German journalist had a special reporter's visa.

Three persons who arrived from the center interrogated the journalists and set them free at midnight, even though Mrs. Timer is at an advance stage of pregnancy. The Serbian police sequestered all the tapes with interviews of Albanian personalities in Kosova and Montenegro, books, even personal cards and money. One of the policemen told the reporters: I would have sent you to prison if those from the center had not released you.

The Albanian Journalists League protests this act of banditry of the Serbian police forces and appeals to international organizations to increase the pressure against the Belgrade regime to stop the maltreatment of journalists.

Zhelev Spokesman Cited on UN Convoy Passage

AU1504174594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] The decision of the National Assembly to allow the passage of the UN convoy to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] prompted the following statement of Valentin Stoyanov, spokesman for the president of the Republic:

[Begin Stoyanov recording] In connection with the numerous queries as to whether there is a change in Bulgaria's position toward the conflict in former Yugoslavia I must state the following:

The president of the Republic of Bulgaria supports the decision of the National Assembly to allow a one-time transshipment of UN property and equipment through our territory for the Blue Helmets in the independent and sovereign Republic of Macedonia.

It is well-known that our country has good-neighborly relations with Macedonia, which is not a participant in the military conflict.

This is a prudent decision that conforms to Bulgaria's national interests and the measures for security in the Balkans and to ending the war in former Yugoslavia.

Bulgaria supports the efforts of the United Nations, NATO, and the European Union to settle the conflict peacefully and establish peace in the Balkans.

The decision of the National Assembly does not contradict the basic principles of Bulgaria's Balkan policy, to which our country has firmly adhered since the beginning of the war, according to which Bulgaria, as a neighboring country, should not commit itself in any manner in the conflict.

Bulgaria insisted and continues to insist that all Balkan countries, Yugoslavia's neighbors, strictly adhere to this principle. Therefore Bulgaria opposes sending Blue Helmets from Turkey or any other Balkan on neighboring country of former Yugoslavia.

This is the essence of the special message that President Zhelev sent one month ago to Butrus-Ghali, UN general secretary.

The equipment the United Nations sends to the Blue Helmets in Macedonia has a preventive and deterrent purpose. It is a barrier against the eventual spread of the conflict in the direction of Macedonia. This corresponds to our national interests, because Macedonia's security means security for Bulgaria.

As far as the party games and speculations are concerned about some corridor through which Turkish Blue Helmets will pass through Bulgaria, I am authorized to state most categorically that no one has requested or discussed such a possibility. No such commitment has been assumed. [end recording]

Videnov Protests to Zhelev

AU1504171394 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] The Press Center of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] has announced that Zhan Videnov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, who is a member of the Consultative Council on National Security, has sent a letter to President Zhelyu Zhelev in which he sharply protests the fact that the problem of the transshipment of the UN Protection Forces equipment has not been discussed in the Consultative Council of National Security.

The letter points out that the president has once again proven his intention to turn the council into a declarative organ or a curtain behind which machinations are conducted.

Similar actions cannot be described as a manifestation of concern with the country's security, the protest letter of Zhan Videnov to the president of the Republic points out.

Railroad Cars for UN Convoy Arrive 'Unsealed'

AU1804064894 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Text] During the night of 17 April, an hour earlier than scheduled, the UN convoy with military equipment for the Blue Helmets in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] arrived from Romania at Ruse central train station.

The contradictory information about the transit route through Bulgarian territory and the hour at which the train will depart from Ruse prompted us to contact our reporter in Ruse, Natasha Dimitrova.

[Begin Dimitrova recording] The UN convoy, which arrived yesterday night at Ruse central train station, departed this morning at 0148. The reason for the delay in the departure was related to 25 wagons being unsealed and the accompanying documents missing.

According to the Bulgarian railroad authorities, receiving the convoy in this form from the Romanian colleagues was irregular. After a long dispute and clarifications, the two sides signed a protocol and prior to the departure the equipment was sealed with Romanian seals. No information about the precise amount of missing contents has been published. [end recording]

U.S., Turkey Reportedly 'Pressuring' Zhelev

AU1804081394 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 12 Apr 94 pp 1, 3

["24 CHASA" staff report: "United States and Turkey Said To Be Pressuring Zhelev on Corridor"]

[Excerpt] Government sources claimed yesterday that U.S. Ambassador William Montgomery has recently

been insisting that Turkish Blue Helmets be allowed to pass through Bulgaria. According to the sources, very heavy pressure has been applied to the president and top Bulgarian diplomats. To some of them, it was allegedly even hinted that if Sofia gives way, its problems in connection with debt negotiations with the Paris and Frankfurt Clubs will be solved.

U.S. Congress representatives and Turkish Parliament deputies have reportedly called upon the government and head of state to decide to grant a corridor for the Turkish peacekeepers. According to their thesis, these troops would not be under the Turkish flag but serving in UN units; therefore Bulgaria has no grounds not to allow them in.

According to the Constitution, only parliament can permit the passage of foreign troops through Bulgarian territory. William Cook, press attache at the U.S. Embassy in Sofia, yesterday categorically denied that U.S. official authorities were launching an attack on our institutions to pressure them to allow the passage of Turkish peacekeeping units. [passage omitted]

Daskalov, FRY's Jovanovic Discuss Bosnia

LD1704153494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1525 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Sofia, April 17 (TANJUG)—Foreign Ministers Stanislav Daskalov of Bulgaria and Vladislav Jovanovic of Yugoslavia said in Sofia on Sunday that peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina should bring about the lifting of sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro) which had affected its Bulgarian neighbours and other European countries.

Jovanovic, who arrived in Bulgaria from Greece late on Saturday, has told TANJUG the talks brought to light a shared view that the embargo has been rendered obsolete by developments in Bosnia-Herzegovina and that it was detrimental to all the countries in the region.

Jovanovic, who has ended his visit to Sofia and left for Belgrade, said that there were no questions outstanding or any serious problems between the two friendly countries.

Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have a large stock of good will and awareness of the importance of the neighbours and the inter-relations of their interests and fates, which will allow their relations to bloom after the lifting of the sanctions, said Jovanovic.

DUMA Criticizes Air Strikes on Gorazde

AU1504154494 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 12 Apr 94 p 5

[Commentary by Goran Gotev: "United States, NATO, and United Nations Have Declared War on the Serbs"]

[Text] The United States and NATO have entered into a war against the Bosnian Serbs. This time, without the usual ultimatum given in such cases, U.S. F-16 planes from the NATO base in Aviano dropped three bombs on 10 April about 13 km southwest of Gorazde. Yesterday NATO aircraft renewed the air strikes.

Throughout Sunday the Western media agitated for these strikes. Report after report came off the printers that the Serbs had already entered Gorazde, that chemical weapons had been used, causing about 1,500 deaths, that street fighting was going on in the town, and that thousands of patients were fleeing in panic to avoid becoming victims of a Serbian slaughter. Thus, this time, the world electronic media carried out the preliminary "softening up by artillery bombardment." When the U.S. Phantoms [as published] carried out their air strikes, it was even immediately insinuated that they had been approved by the UN secretary general and that Russia had also given her consent. Subsequently it turned out that President Clinton was unable to answer a question that President Yeltsin asked him on the telephone as to whether Butrus-Ghali had approved the air strikes against the Serbs. It also materialized that Yeltsin had not only not given his consent to the strikes, but had demanded an urgent meeting of the UN Security Council to discuss the issue.

Now it is already clear that the U.S. bombs dropped near Gorazde had been planned in advance. This act of war was already known about when U.S. Secretary of Defense William Perry and John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Council of Joint Chiefs of Staff were assuring the world that the United States and NATO did not plan any intervention around Gorazde. By saying this, they simply inflamed the Serbs' ambitions to capture the town, because for them it represented an important guarantee, as it transformed the Drina River into a Serbian river, instead of a border between Bosnia and Serbia.

Furthermore, it is no accident that the United States and NATO are joining the side of one of the warring parties at the moment when no other than the Bosnian Serbs made a comprehensive proposal for a lasting and stable peace. However, it transpired that the Bosniaks feared that it might lead to the present front lines becoming border divisions.

Russian special envoy Vitaliy Churkin arrived in Belgrade to try to persuade the Serbs to put an end to the war. However, it is much more uncertain whether U.S. special envoy Charles Redman will persuade the Bosnians to stop counting on warfare and international military intervention, especially at a moment when this intervention has already begun.

As a first emotional reaction, the Bosnian Serbs broke off relations with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces]. It is doubtful whether this is a sensible step. Now no one should try to pretend to be offended or insulted. It is not the right time now for either bad blood or acts of revenge, but the time for immediately resuming the negotiations process, with all three parties taking part on

an equal footing. As the war approaches its second anniversary this month, let this not mark the beginning of a new war, this time with the participation of the 16 NATO states.

Videnov on Army Unrest, Layoffs of Officers

AU1504125994 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 9-10 Apr 94 p 9

[Interview with Zhan Videnov, chairman of Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, BSP, by Ivan Petrov; place and date not given: "BSP Supports a United, Well-Trained Army That Is Ready To Fight"]

[Excerpts] [Petrov] Mr. Videnov, after the meeting of the Consultative Council on National Security, DUMA wrote that perhaps "the Army may threaten to rebel because of a purge." Is this true?

[Videnov] I would not say so. During these last four years of change the Bulgarian officers corps has displayed a high degree of statesman-like thinking and is not threatening any revolt. However, now certain circles that aim to provoke the officers corps to extreme acts and bring it into confrontation with the institutions of state are yet again undertaking ill-considered, chaotic, and perhaps even premeditated acts. We must not allow them to get away with this!

[Petrov] Nonetheless, tension is rising among the servicemen.

[Videnov] I completely share their anxiety about the planned mass dismissals based on length of service and the PSSD [Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy] will do everything possible to prevent such a dangerous step, especially as it is not difficult to see the political motive behind this, namely to remove the so-called military cadres with a communist past by causing confrontation between young and "old" officers. If we allow this to happen, we may provoke a similar situation in the army to that which existed in the twenties, in 1934, and in 1944. However, I will reiterate that I am firmly convinced that "repetitions" will not be permitted and there will be no "revolts."

[Petrov] Nevertheless, redundancies in the army appear to be unavoidable.

[Videnov] No one is against them, but they must be made in a well-planned manner, within the framework of a process of reorganizing the army, not in the form of a "slaughter to the last man" under the pretext of lack of money. [passage omitted]

[Petrov] However, the ratio between the numbers of command staff and the rank and file does make an impression.

[Videnov] To the uninformed and prejudiced reader or listener, it would seem so. It is not difficult to mislead the uninformed citizen. It is true that the numbers of the command staff and the rank and file are approximately equal, but this is not due to us having too many officers, but because the numbers of conscripts are insufficient even to supplement the army's peacetime strength of enlisted men. Given that we have decided to have a small but high- quality army in peacetime, the second condition for guaranteeing our security is to have an adequate command staff that can ensure their deployment in time of war (if necessary) and provide a competent administration to form the basis of a professional army. Everything else is populism or pure lies—I am thinking of the claims made by General Lyutskanov of the Reserve that the Turkish General Staff consists of barely 500 officers. [passage omitted]

[Petrov] Defense Minister Aleksandrov plans not to pay monetary compensation to redundant officers, but to give them securities instead.

[Videnov] First, this is illegal, because they are being compulsorily retired, and second, this compensation is granted to the officers to meet their essential needs and help them to adapt to civilian life. I hope that even Valentin Aleksandrov has managed to dispel his illusions of "military caps filled with cash." [passage omitted]

[Petrov] What, then, is the solution to the present situation in the army?

[Videnov] We consider the following is necessary. First, parliament should pass the law on defense and the armed forces as soon as possible. Second, parliament—perhaps through the National Security Commission or the Consultative Council on National Security—should hear what the Defense Ministry and the General Staff have to say on the course of the army reform and should approve redundancies only within the framework of the reorganization of the armed services and after guaranteeing the social welfare of the officer corps. Otherwise, we may find ourselves in the paradoxical situation of having no senior officers in the headquarters at corps level and above and also having a shortage of young officers to command the platoons and companies. This is a reality, because we will dismiss between 2,000 and 4,000 men annually, while only 600-800 men will graduate from the military schools. [passage omitted]

Deputies on Potential Russian Threat, NATO

AU1504123394 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 29 Mar 94 p 3

[Report by Ivo Zaloudek: "According to Deputies, We Should Counter the Potential Threat From Russia by Joining NATO"]

[Text] We should counter the potential military threat in the event of undemocratic developments in Russia with efforts to join NATO as speedily as possible. At this time, however, the danger is not imminent. Vladimir Suman (Civic Democratic Alliance), chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, and deputy chairmen Jan Kasal (Christian and Democratic Union- Czechoslovak People's Party) and Pavel Tollner (Christian Democratic Party) agreed on this answer.

"The Czech Republic has satisfied the political conditions for joining the Alliance," Suman said and added: "I am convinced that if a real threat arose, our army would defend the sovereignty of the country. The quality of army morale is a different matter, and we will have to do a lot of work in that area. Most of the people in the supreme command are doing their best in this respect. We do object, however, to some actions of the defense minister—one instance is the practical execution of the special assessment [screening] in the army."

Jan Kasal said: "I am troubled by the idea that in the mind of some Russian politicians, our republic has not ceased to be a component of its sphere of influence, but since Ukraine and Slovakia are located between us and Russia, it is not necessary to see Russia as the direct potential enemy and aim the training of the army in this direction. Nevertheless, it would be wrong if the Defense Ministry published these matters in a completely open manner, and therefore, as I am not a member of the Defense and Security Committee, I myself do not have access to any details."

According to Pavel Tollner, the danger on the part of Russia is based, above all, on its economic instability—one example is the issue of "economic" refugees. "The potential military threat depends on the development of the political situation in Russia, which no one can predict," Tollner said.

A deputy of the opposition Czech Social Democratic Party, Stanislav Gross, also perceives the danger from Russia as potential, and he believes the entry of the Czech Republic into NATO is a solution. Left Bloc Chairman Marie Stiborova, on the other hand, declared: "If any major and broader based conflict arose, neither armies nor arms would help." According to Stiborova, we should not join NATO "because if there were problems coming from Russia, they would be augmented by the expansion of the Alliance as a counterbalance to something else, like Russia, for instance."

Problems in Marking Czech-Slovak Border Noted

AU1404124694 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Apr 94 pp 1, 16

[Interview with Jiri Pesek, chairman of the Czech section of the Border Demarcation Commission, by Katerina Perknerova; place and date not given: "The Czech-Slovak Border Should Be Demarcated by the End of 1995"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Perknerova] What are the main problems in the work of the commission?

[Pesek] Having studied the administrative border in the field, we discovered many instances when it passes through the middle of communities, even buildings.

[Perknerova] Can you give us an example?

[Pesek] Javornik is a specific example, as the border does not follow the ridge there but rather a contour line below the ridge. Hence, it would be logical to move it to the ridge. That was the first instance of a proposed change, although from the very beginning the Czech side was aware that the Slovak side would have to be compensated for this territorial gain at some other place—it was a matter of some 600 hectares.

After talks with the mayors, we came to the conclusion that this solution is not feasible, and we narrowed the proposal to just the Kasarna recreation area, where tow lifts have been built on the Czech side, and around them some 40 private cabins and nine resorts owned by Czech proprietors. Moreover, this area is accessible only from the Czech side and represents approximately 45 hectares for which we have offered to the Slovak side compensation in the immediate neighborhood.

[Perknerova] Nevertheless, the government of ex-Prime Minister Meciar recently decided that the Kasarna region will remain the domain of the Slovak Republic.

[Pesek] That was a great surprise for me. After the talks between the interior ministers of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic in Piestany, the commission met twice, and the end result was that the matter of the Kasarna recreation area will be left for the meeting of the prime ministers as the only unsolved case.

[Perknerova] Any other disputed areas?

[Pesek] There were 16 in all. The Velka Javorina transmitter was among them, to name just one, and they have been gradually settled directly in the field. In all, there are four disputed areas left. In addition to the aforementioned Kasarna, the most frequently discussed locality is Sidonia as a part of the Czech community of Brumov-Bylnice, and the settlement of U Sabotu, which belongs to the Javornik community but, at the same time,—with respect to services, health care, education, etc.—is a part of the catchment area of the Slovak community of Vrbovce. The best known instance of an unnatural border is the Morava River, where it passes through its

old dried up bed and zig zags around the current stream of the Morava. Both delegations of the Demarcation Commission pushed from the very beginning for it to be transfered to a channeled bed provided the Czech side compensates Slovakia to the tune of 120 hectares.

[Perknerova] Do you have any idea regarding the area you will offer Slovakia for the banks of the Morava River?

[Pesek] We have sought a solution by the mayors of the Czech border-region communities but, unfortunately, they have not been very accommodating, so we opted for the Slovak proposal of annexing the U Sabotu settlement to the Slovak Republic. Originally, we expected that this change would settle all 120 hectares but we had to respect the contrary views of the citizens of the Javornik and Velka nad Velickou communities. We have arrived at a reduction of the considered compensation area upon receiving petitions from the citizens of Javornik and Velka nad Velickou, which, however, do not have the same weight as the views of the U Sabotu citizens whom the change affects most. In the final stage, there were 45 hectares at stake and 39 single-family houses of Slovak citizens from the U Sabotu settlement. [passage omitted]

Klaus Denies Tension Within ODS

AU1504113194 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 2 Apr 94 p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Martin Danes; place and date not given: "Tension Between the Government and Parliament Is Natural"]

[Text] [Danes] During the rule of the Civic Forum, discord between the government and parliament was a somewhat regular phenomenon. However, this situation continues even today. There is discord not only between the coalition parties, but also between Civic Democratic Party [ODS] ministers and deputies. This has become apparent in the recent "compromise" regarding the elections to the Senate. What is the reason for this discord, and how could it be sorted out?

[Klaus] Our discussion about the elections to the Senate was definitely not a standard dispute between the government and parliament. It was not the natural dispute that can occur in any. It would be an absolute mistake to draw fundamental conclusions about relations between the government and parliament from a declaration made by one ODS deputy at a meeting of a group of coalition deputies. At most, we could ask whether this deputy acted in compoliance with the decision taken by the ODS Executive Council.

[Danes] There are other instances of discord between ODS ministers and deputies. For example, the Housing Bill presented by Dyba's Econhomics Ministry has been thoroughly redrafted by parliament (with the participation of ODS deputies).

[Klaus] Unlike other, more formal laws, the Housing Law is a political issue. Each of us has a certain position on the housing problem. This is a classical example of a law that is more likely to be changed by the deputies than other laws. I would not draw any conclusions from this.

[Danes] You do not see any noticeable problems between the ODS ministers and, for example, the ODS deputies, do you?

[Klaus] Instead of asking about controversy between the government and parliament, you should rather ask about controversy between the party leadership and some of its members.

[Danes] If the classical majority system for the elections to the Senate is not approved in parliament, would you be in favor of eliminating the Senate from the Constitution?

[Klaus] I hope that we will find a solution and that the original government draft will pass. This is clear. Restitution, the Senate, regional administration—we are tired of speaking about these problems. People who want to find a solution different from the one that has been developed, more of less through national consensus, are constantly bringing up this issues. They force us, again and again, to take a position on these issues. We have taken this position so many times. Our reaction is abrupt because we have the feeling that they are reopening issues that were closed a long time ago.

Deputy Criticizes Officer Screening Process

AU1504101594 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 11 Apr 94 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Vladimir Suman, chairman of the parliamentary Defense and Security Committee, by Jiri Hracek; place and date not given: "Czech Officers Were Screened by Former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Members"]

[Text] Last week, the Defense and Security Committee of the Chamber of Deputies discussed the results of the screening of the Czech Army officers. The committee assumed a very critical stand regarding both the process and the results of the screening. We asked Deputy Vladimir Suman (Civic Democratic Alliance), chairman of the Defense and Security Committee, for an explanation.

[Hracek] Sir, during the assessment of the results of the screening of the Czech Army officers at the open session of the Defense and Security Committee, you have commented rather skeptically on the approach used. What led you to this criticism?

[Suman] You must know that our committee adopted a resolution, in which it expresses its dissatisfaction with the results of the special screening of the professional soldiers. Several serious factors led us to this stand. True, the examinations were broadly implemented and

included practically all professional soldiers. This means that thousands of people passed the test. It seemed remarkable to us that of this large number, only 60 officers were described as unsuitable for service—that is approximately 0.3 percent of those who passed the screening. Another important reason for our dissatisfaction was the method of implementing the examination. Our committee received information from many places that in numerous units people very closely connected with the Ommunist regime were appointed to the screening commissions. We know, for instance, that in one of the army units the examinations were conducted by a former member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [KSC] Auditing Commission and also a former chairman of the Division Committee of the KSC. In some instances, these people screened professional soldiers who never joined the party. This situation led to the refusal by some officers to be screened under these circumstances, while others passed the screening but left the army in protest against this principle. At a session of the committee, Deputy Fejfar (Civic Democratic Party) quoted from a letter from these officers.

[Hracek] Is there an overall report on the current appointments to all leading posts in the army at all levels?

[Suman] The Defense and Security Committee requested from [Defense] Minister Baudys a list of all people who were, as of 1 November 1989, agents of counterespionage or military counterespionage. The list should include the staff of the KSC political instruction apparatus and former military screening officers. Each name entry should include the army function under the communist regime and the reasons for leaving the army, if applicable. We are also interested in whether these people work in the army.

[Hracek] Are you worried that in case of a crisis, our country could be internally threatened by these people who still are in the army?

[Suman] In a discussion with the defense minister, we reached the conclusion that the majority of our officers would defend the sovereignty of the Czech Republic. Regarding internal security, I believe that the economic and political character of this state has been decided without any chance of the return of the former regime.

New Fighter Aircraft Profiled

AU1504192394 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 13 Apr 94 p 1

[Report by Petr Bakovsky: "The First Czech Fighter Plane Will Satisfy NATO Standards"]

[Text] Aero Vodochody is preparing production of the first military aircraft with armaments completely compatible with those of the NATO. The aircraft in question is the multipurpose light fighter aircraft L-159. A prototype should finished by 1996. According to the military experts, this will contribute to increasing the combat readiness of the Czech Army, and the financial savings are not negligible.

The subsonic L-159 aircraft, based on the L-59 type, should be part of our army within four years. It should carry substantially more weaponry in seven holders under the wings. If attacked, it is capable of aerial combat, and it will be equipped with a stronger engine, the U.S. F-124, and other modern systems. The new Czech combat aircraft will be deployed at the tactical air bases in Caslav and Namest nad Oslavou.

The need for new aircraft results from the transformation of our Air Force, which will lead to 250 pilots leaving the force and a reduction of military aircraft by more than 30 percent. Of the total of 138 aircraft, 77 combat aircraft are being eliminated. They are mostly older machines, the elimination of which should limit types of aircraft, including the modern MiG-29 aircraft, that are not compatible with the NATO equipment. Moreover, according to Pavel Strubl, the Air Force inspector, operation is very uneconomical because of the small numbers involved.

Additional purchases are not planned, and therefore until the reequipment, the Czech Air Force will keep its MiG-21's and MiG-23's, while the void in the fighter force will be filled by the SU-22 and SU-25 fighter bombers. The lifespan of most of these aircraft will expire in the coming years but the Air Force intends to keep them in operation until they are replaced. An acquisition of modern supersonic aircraft is expected after the year 2000.

Moravcik Interviewed on Government Policies

LD1504223994 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik by correspondent Jaroslav Reznik; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Reznik] The government's policy statement has been adopted, following a marathon discussion in the National Council of the Slovak Republic. A big part of it concerns economic issues. What are the specific steps the government is to take in this sphere in the near future? What problems do you perceive as priorities? Is it at all possible to tackle Slovakia's current very complicated economic situation without breaking a very fragile social peace?

[Moravcik] Our cabinet has already taken certain steps. It is very important that all the measures taken by the cabinet are taken in the interest of strengthening fiscal discipline and stabilizing our budget. [passage omitted] Other steps are aimed at those abroad; we hold talks with our foreign partners to create better conditions for foreign investors to come here. The other sphere where we want to make the cabinet's activities more dynamic is the sphere of privatization. [passage omitted] Another aspect concerns social peace—we hold very intensive talks with our partners on a new general agreement. I can say that our partners have shown a very positive, constructive attitude. I am convinced that we will succeed in securing and preserving social peace.

[Reznic] The Matica Slovenska leadership held a session in Cadca and adopted a statement calling on political entities represented in the government of the Slovak Republic to explain the participation in the coalition talks of ethnic Hungarian parties and movements—despite the fact that they are not represented in the coalition government. What is your view on this problem?

[Moravcik] I have had an opportunity to discuss this problem with the Matica Slovenska officials. It is included in our coalition agreement—Hungarian political parties support the government's policy statement and they have expressed their support by their vote, too. [passage omitted] There is nothing else, no other document the content of which would be different from the government's policy statement. According to our coalition agreement, the representatives of the ethnic Hungarian political parties are being invited to our talks—that is, they have an opportunity to express their view. I think that, given the fact that they support the government's policy statement, there is justification to inviting them to participate in talks. [passage omitted]

[Reznic] Another fundamental sphere is the sphere of foreign relations. [passage omitted]

[Moravcik] One of the conditions for our integration into the European Union, and possibly into other political and security systems in the Euro-Atlantic sphere, is stability in Central Europe. We must secure stability in Central Europe and we have certain outstanding issues in this sphere, above all as regards our relations with the Hungarian Republic. The problem is similarly perceived in Hungary, and thus we would like to use this period to progress a little with the tackling of this problem. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister Discusses Visegrad Cooperation

AU1804081194 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 11 Apr 94 p 4

[Interview with Defense Minister Pavol Kanis by Ivan Brozik; place and date not given: "The Army Will Remain Above Party Affairs"]

[Text] [Brozik] Following the 8 April talks with your Polish counterpart, what do you see as the dominant feature of relations?

[Kanis] There are two main areas of cooperation—research and cooperation in the production of weapons and arms systems, and our moving closer toward NATO within the framework of the Partnership for Peace project. After the demise of the Warsaw Pact, its former member states spontaneously started to do exactly the same things. The system of production sharing, which made arms production cheaper and more efficient, fell apart, and as a result, everything became more expensive. The innovation of the T-72 tank is a case in point. All the former Warsaw Pact states are working on it independently. Division of labor is necessary to make the innovation of arms equipment cheaper. We can cooperate with the Poles in many fields.

[Brozik] But cooperation will not remain bilateral or confined to the framework of the former Warsaw Pact.

[Kanis] Our orientation toward transatlantic and West European security structures is an exceptionally serious matter. We are confronted by new realities. Partnership for Peace, which is a framework project, should be given specific shape in so-called presentation documents [prezentacne dokumenty]. This requires an exchange of opinions within the framework of the Visegrad Four [V-4] group, including about the division of tasks within the framework of the project. Cooperation within the V-4 is connected with this. The Czech Republic and the Hungarian Republic give preference to a race for NATO or European Union membership. It is apparent that this pursues propaganda aims without yielding any benefit for the aforementioned states. First it is necessary to demonstrate the ability to form integration relations among ourselves and only then is it possible to consider integration into Western structures. The Poles' idea of the V-4 is that of a grouping with common intentions in terms of contents and time. The Polish view is very sympathetic to us. It is the idea of a cart with four wheels, one of which is Slovakia.

[Brozik] The post of defense minister should not be combined with membership in any party. Have you not considered suspending your membership in the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL]?

[Kanis] I expected this question, but it is necessary to view this matter realistically. I am not a soldier minister. Hence, I do not have to meet the criteria that a soldier would if he became minister. I am a civilian who has been nominated by a "certain" party. Czech Defense Minister Antonin Baudys is also a high level functionary of a political party. The same goes for Lajos Fur in Hungary, who is even chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. A civilian minister must be considered differently from a soldier minister. However, the Army should self-evidently be above party affairs. This means that one must not engage in any political activities on the premises of Army barracks. A soldier can be politically engaged when he is out of uniform. My membership or nonmembership [of the SDL] depends on coalition agreements.

Cabinet Criticizes TA SR Chief on Paper

AU1504143594 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Apr 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "REPUBLIKA on the Carpet; Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac's Meeting With TA SR Director General"]

[Text] Bratislava— Deputy Prime Minister Roman Kovac met with TA SR Director General Dusan Kleiman in Bratislava yesterday. The meeting took place on the basis of a decision of the Coalition Council, which asked that certain facts be clarified regarding property matters of the daily REPUBLIKA and the transfer of its registration to a different entity. Dusan Kleiman stated that the TA SR did not violate any legal norms and did not use any funds from the state budget to publish the daily. He considers it intolerable for a news agency to publish an opinion-forming [mienkotvorny] daily, but the entire process of the daily REPUBLIKA's becoming independent has been slowed down by the fact that Republika Ltd., which is ready to assume all liabilities of the daily and to take the burden off the TA SR, has not yet been registered.

"It is an absurd situation when a state agency publishes a daily that is full of invectives against the crucial state bodies—the National Council, the president, and the government," Roman Kovac told reporters after his meeting with Dusan Kleiman. According to his words, the TA SR operates with a deficit, caused by the daily REPUBLIKA. Last year, the loss amounted to more than 18 million Slovak korunas [Sk]. He said that Sk30-35 million had been appropriated from the 1993 state budget for the TA SR and this year the subsidy even went up to Sk42 million. Apart from this, the news agency has some income from its entrepreneurial activity (last year it supposedly amounted to Sk95 million). Roman Kovac noted that the TA SR operates with a single fund, into which all its financial resources flow. It is therefore difficult to say whether the loss caused by REPUBLIKA has been offset by korunas from the state budget or by profit from the agency's commercial activities.

The argument that the publication of the daily REPUBLIKA should be the TA SR's commercial venture does not hold water, according to Roman Kovac, because, under a Slovak Ministry of Finance decree, organizations of this type can only engage in commercial activities that do not cause losses. This provision has not been observed, "which amounts to a violation of a legislative norm," Roman Kovac stressed.

Asked by reporters whether a change in the post of TA SR director general was to be expected, Roman Kovac replied that this matter will still have to be considered. He noted that, probably today, Dusan Kleiman would submit to him proposals on how to deal with the situation that has arisen. According to Roman Kovac, the TA SR director general realizes his share of responsibility, be it responsibility of economic nature or responsibility for the violation of legal regulations. "Although it is true that he did not violate them himself, the head of an organization must bear the consequences for his deeds and is also accountable for his subordinates," Roman Kovac said.

Roman Kovac is convinced that the TA SR should operate as an independent agency and said that it was unthinkable for it to publish an opposition daily. He considers the privatization of the daily REPUBLIKA to the full extent, that is, including the debts it has run up, to be the most suitable solution to the problems surrounding the newspaper.

As he went on to say, the orders placed by the government with the daily REPUBLIKA in the form of various supplements, which needlessly siphoned off resources from the budgets of individual ministries, are being abolished and the ministry will have to find a new form of maintaining contact with the public, for example by means of bulletins and the like.

SNS Wants 'Secret' Hungarian Accord Revealed

AU1504123594 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 Apr 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Coalition Alternatives"]

[Text] Cadca—All Slovak National Party [SNS] District Councils in Slovakia have quickly recovered from the departure of some members for the National Democratic Party—New Alternative. Since the Extraordinary SNS Assembly, which was held in Zilina in February, party membership has increased from 6,000 to approximately 6,700. This was stated by the SNS Central Council during a meeting in Cadca on Saturday [9 April]. Information on the meeting was provided by SNS Chairman Jan Slota and SNS Honorary Chairman Jozef Prokes.

The SNS Central Council also considered the possibilities of forming a coalition for the upcoming parliamentary elections. The proposal was put forward to form a coalition partnership with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], but only in the event of the formation of pre-election blocs—a left-wing bloc, a right-wing bloc, and a national bloc.

The SNS Central Council protests against the decision by Slovak President Michal Kovac to annul the results of citizens' petition for a referendum. The president preferred intrigues to a democratic solution to the problem, delegates stated in their contributions.

The SNS Central Council issued a statement on the political situation, which it addressed to the citizens of Slovakia. It states, among other things: "A dangerous development has occurred on the Slovak political scene. Under the formal cloak of democracy, political culture and ethics have been trampled underfoot, the regular results of the free elections of 1992 have been reversed, and power has been seized by political entities that were either defeated in the free elections or did not even exist at that time. This situation is reminiscent of the elections of 1948 when Klement Gottwald usurped power in the former Czechoslovak Republic....

"Political purges have been set in motion and an endeavor has been launched to liquidate the sole opposition daily, REPUBLIKA. There is speculation that the September election date might be postponed," the statement says. A dirty role is played in this process by a greater part of the mass media.

The present government's distrust of the Slovak Republic's independence is borne out by its downright Milovy-style capitulationism [reference to February 1992 draft treaty concluded between Czech and Slovak leaders in Milovy on the future shape of Czech-Slovak coexistence, which was subsequently rejected by Slovak Parliament as capitulationist] in its negotiations with the Czech Republic in the Customs Union Council, as a result of which the Slovak Republic will incur losses of hundreds of millions of korunas. It is borne out by the secret agreements between the current government coalition and Hungarian political parties that do not conceal their irredentism. The SNS emphatically demands the publication of these agreements. Citizens of the Slovak Republic have the right to get to know their contents. In conclusion, the SNS appeals to citizens not to yield to hopelessness and apathy and to express their attitude toward the Slovak Republic in the next elections.

[Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 11 April on page 2 carries a 600-word interview with SNS Chairman Jan Slota by SMENA reporter Marian Hudec entitled "The Party Is Stabilized." In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Slota discusses the results of the Cadca meeting of the SNS Central Council. He confirms that the district organizations "tend to favor" the party's independent ticket for the fall elections and that only "in the event of the formation of pre-election blocs" would the SNS contest the elections jointly with the HZDS and, possibly, the Christian Social Union. Slota also reiterates the party's demand for the publication of the agreement concluded between the government coalition and the Hungarian political parties, saying that "the Slovak nation wants to know for how many Judas's silverlings it was concluded." In his concluding reply, Slota denies that the SNS leadership would meet with Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, during his expected visit to Slovakia. "We did not invite him to Slovakia and do not consider establishing any contacts with him," Slota says.]

SNS Official on Zhirinovskiy's Pan-Slavism

AU1604160094 Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 Apr 94 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Juraj Molnar, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Party, by Eva Zelenayova; place and date not given: "I Spoke With Zhirinovskiy"]

[Excerpts] The World Congress of Slav, Orthodox, and Christian Nations was held in Moscow on 3 April. The Slovak National Party [SNS] sent Deputy Chairman Juraj Molnar to the congress as an observer. His participation in the congress triggered an unusually strong and above all negative response in the mass media. The fact that the congress was held immediately after the conclusion of the Fifth Congress of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR], which organized the congress, served as a pretext for spreading speculation.

[Zelenayova] With what intentions did you depart for Moscow?

[Molnar] My visit to Moscow is being commented on with the expressed aim of generating certain moods and spreading disinformation. Efforts can even be detected to discredit this visit and the foreign policy line of our party. Indeed, the congress was organized by the LDPR and we have been saying openly that we used our participation in the congress to unofficially establish contacts with LDPR representatives, which undeniably represents a real political force. I went to Moscow in order to obtain firsthand information.

[Zelenayova] The LDPR is considered to be an extremist party. Your contacts with its representatives allow politicians and journalists to argue that the SNS has also joined this current.

[Molnar] Our party also had an observer at the congress of the Coexistence Movement, and no one claimed that our orientation is pro-Hungarian. Our party has carried out a very precise analysis of the developments in Russia. In this analysis, we did not evaluate or consider whether the LDPR is a positive or a negative phenomenon. We merely considered that it represents a real force that must be reckoned with and that can influence developments in Central Europe.

[Zelenayova] I do not assume that you consider the LDPR a real force only because of Zhirinovskiy's strong words. His plans to create a Russian empire reaching to the Indian Ocean and his reference to Bratislava as the capital of this empire have rightly alarmed politicians.

[Molnar] The real strength of this party does not lie in Zhirinovskiy's vocabulary but in the election results. It has entered the Duma as the strongest party. As for Bratislava, it is being considered as a possible ideological center of the Slavs and not as the capital of a Russian empire. After all, it would be absurd for Russia to try to bring together some empire and hand over its capital to another nation. At the Moscow congress there was talk about creating an association of Slav nations and it is in this context that one has to understand the reference to Bratislava. It would play a similar role as Strasbourg, which fulfills the function of capital for the European Union. However, there has never been talk about a new state formation.

[Zelenayova] Do you consider it conceivable for the Slav nations to unite? This is not a new idea.

[Molnar] It is interesting that whenever there is talk about Slav nations, someone always makes a tremendous fuss about it. Slovakia is a member of the Central European Initiative, which does not remind anyone of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, although it occupies the same geographic space. But when there is talk of 300 million Slavs, all kinds of noises can immediately be heard about links with the former regime and such like. This is natural. Were the 300 million Slavs to unite, they would constitute a decisive force in Europe and the world. Western Europe is naturally afraid of this because it is ethnically mixed, being inhabited by Latin nations, Germans, Anglo-Saxons, and remnants of the Celts. As for Zhirinovskiy's plans, at the congress in Moscow it was said that the unification of the nations of Russia [as published] should be brought about by nonmilitary means. [passage omitted]

While in Moscow, I clearly declared that the Slavs cannot unite on the basis of political parties but on the platform of governments, which should work out the common, basic idea of such a community. I consider the congress as a mere declaration of intent, as the first step that should raise this issue and give it a topical dimension. [passage omitted]

[Zelenayova] Could you tell us what you learned from your talks with LDPR representatives?

[Molnar] We wanted to find out what their ideas are, because their electoral victory is a realistic prospect. I also inquired how far the empire under discussion would stretch in the west, for example. Would it swallow Slovakia? Mr. Zhirinovskiy clearly said that Slovakia is, and will remain, an independent state. This was also confirmed by the LDPR deputy chairman, and was also published in the press.

[Zelenayova] Did you speak with Zhirinovskiy personally?

[Molnar] Yes, I had a personal conversation with him.

[Zelenayova] What impression did he make on you?

[Molnar] It is difficult to form an impression in 10 or 15 minutes. He definitely does not come across as a radical, although one has to admit that he has an emotional mode of expression. I consider this a form of the struggle for power. Apparently, he does not have access to the media and, therefore, opts for this method. Western politicians also used to talk about driving the communists beyond the Urals and so on, before coming to power. Their vocabulary changed when they came to power. But I would not like to evaluate the LDPR; I do not know whether its strength will make a positive or negative impact. We have only established contacts, because it represents a real political force. [passage omitted]

Jeszenszky, Kinkel Discuss EU, NATO

LD1504184994 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1438 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Budapest (DDP/ADN)—Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel met his Hungarian counterpart Geza Jeszenszky in Budapest today. The main focus of the meeting was Hungary's integration into the European Union (EU), the Western European Union (WEU), and NATO.

Kinkel will address a joint forum this evening of the Friedrich Naumann Foundation and the opposition Federation of Young Democrats (Fidesz) and the Alliance of Free Democrats (SZDSZ) on the subject of "The Visegrad Countries and the EU".

[Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian at 1700 GMT on 15 April reports that Foreign Minister Jeszenszky spoke to journalists after his discussions with Kinkel and denied that Hungary and Ukraine support the Greek-Romanian-Bulgarian proposal for lifting the embargo against rump Yugoslavia.]

MSZP's Horn Views Election Prospects

AU1504123694 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Apr 94 p 5

[Interview with Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman Gyula Horn by Pal Szombathy; place and date not given: "Citizens Do Not Vote on the Basis of Party Suggestions"]

[Text] One should not attribute exaggerated importance to declarations made during the election campaign, Gyula Horn, Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] chairman, told us. Gyula Horn said that the parties winning the elections will be able to form a government because there are no big differences between the various programs and many people would like to get into power and even more people want a change. Speaking about persons, Gyula Horn said that they would welcome non-party members Ferenc Glatz and Kalman Kulcsar in the government.

[Szombathy] Although the comparison of various party programs would make it possible to form coalitions, the attitude of political forces in the election campaign is weakening the chances of agreement. For example, the chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], a party you called unacceptable to the MSZP, called cooperation with the Socialists "the kiss of death." Can these contradictions be still bridged?

[Horn] One should not attribute exaggerated importance to declarations made during the election campaign: One can find a wide gap between the promises of the 1990 election campaign and the implementation of these promises. There are no major differences between the programs of leading political parties: Almost without exception, everyone wants to continues privatization and agrees with the importance of agriculture. The difference lies in who wants to do what in reality. We do not react to various declarations; we only reply to blatant statements. We treat the accusations in accordance with our style prevailing so far, and I only react to unfounded accusations. However, it is a particular development that the right-wing conservatives and the liberal forces regard the left as their main opponent. The probable reason for this is that the socialists are regarded as having the biggest chance of winning.

[Szombathy] However, there is an interesting harmony between your opinion and that of [Prime Minister] Peter Boross according to which both of you count on a conservative-left-wing competition....

[Horn] With the exception of a few hundred people, no one is interested in these speculations. Citizens will not vote on the basis of party suggestions. I never said that that the liberal parties might not have a weight in the 1994 elections although, in the long term, I imagine a role similar to that prevailing in Western Europe for them. To find the common contact points is much more important than this, because people want change, and the main goal of this change is to replace the current coalition.

[Szombathy] Together with yourself, several MSZP leaders expressed their openness toward a coalition made up of the MSZP, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], and the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz]. Do you think that this is increasingly strange, given the growing rejection of the Fidesz?

[Horn] I would rather say that all this is manifested on the part of some Fidesz leaders. I do not attribute particular importance to these declarations, because Viktor Orban and his followers change their opinions frequently. However, we will also stick to our guidelines and ideas after May. Hungary needs a predictable political activity; I am sorry for the Fidesz because they gave up their earlier rational and calm policy. It is difficult to find out why the Fidesz changed their earlier popular attitude.

[Szombathy] What is your opinion about the chances of forming a government? It seems that the current system of political parties in Hungary is still pliable and, thus, it is no accident that Peter Boross said that the government can still function as an executive for a long time and that parliamentary cycle shorter than four years cannot be excluded either.

[Horn] Every day spent in power is obviously important for the present government. It is terrible to think what can still happen in the remaining weeks. It is enough to mention that it was precisely the KDNP that asked that the privatization be stopped. Coalition talks lasted more than five weeks in 1990 and, presumably, this period of time will not be shorter this time either. However, a new government can be formed, and the victorious parties will be able to come to an agreement. Many people would like to get into the executive power, and even more people want to get rid of the present style. Thus, individual and social interests are equal. However, there

is a danger, namely the one predicted by Peter Boross: The new government will be facing a very difficult period. Stability will require social dialogue and agreement.

[Szombathy] The party system has partially lost the citizens' confidence since 1990. Do you think that, after the current promises, the new government will continue to be faced with further loss of confidence?

[Horn] The citizens will display confidence and patience if professional and honest people form the new government. On our part, we would like to see nonparty-affililated experts in the next government like Ferenc Glatz or Kalman Kulcsar, people who stand comparison with their current colleagues. The MSZP will continue to maintain a social dialogue. The new government will not have room for maneuver without such a dialogue.

[Szombathy] Do you continue to regard yourself as the number one target among the opposition politicians?

[Horn] Yes, especially among the client journalists of the government parties, who are trying to discredit me with every possible means. One thing is certain: If we have anything to do with the next government, we will not allow any kind of government party press around us.

Workers Party Chairman Views Elections

AU1504131694 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 13 Apr 94 p 7

[Interview with Workers Party Chairman Gyula Thurmer by Lajos Pogonyi; place and date not given: "Thurmer: We Have Athenian Democracy Here"]

[Text] Is Prime Minister Peter Boross right in saying that the country would come to grief by listening to Gyula Horn [chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP]? To what can we attribute the Workers Party's increasing popularity? We interviewed Gyula Thurmer on these issues among others.

[Pogonyi] Do you agree with Peter Boross who recently said that the country would come to grief if it listened to Gyula Horn, namely to his statement that the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] government has to be replaced?

[Thurmer] This poor country came to grief when it elected the current government and when the parliamentary parties did not force early elections in December 1993. If the country listened to Boross, its days would be limited.

[Pogonyi] To remain with the prime minister's words, he said that the elections would be decided between the MDF and the MSZP, and that the liberal parties would be a "natural wastage." In your view, what will be at stake at the elections?

[Thurmer] It is almost a fact that the Boross government will fail at the elections. The real stake is whether the consolidation of the capitalist system that was imported from the West in 1990 will continue or Hungary will choose a way of development in which the millions of workers also find their place.

[Pogpnyi] In your view, what kind of system do we now have in Hungary?

[Thurmer] This system mostly reminds me of the democracy of Athens.

[Pogonyi] In what way?

[Thurmer] Five percent had a perfect and pleasant life while 95 percent of the population were slaves. We would like the majority to feel good.

[Pogonyi] I think that you are not the only one who says this. The question is which party the electors will believe.

[Thurmer] I feel that the Socialist Party has a better chance to implement this policy and to achieve prosperity for the majority. In my view, the liberal parties do not have enough strength or consistency to deviate from the model of capitalist consolidation. The liberals might not drop out but I am convinced that they will not be the ones who determine the country's future. All depends on how much courage the MSZP's leadership has.

[Pogonyi] Courage for what?

[Thurmer] Today, one needs courage to govern the country and to deviate from the current road. If the MSZP tries to find allies from the right then it will sooner or later find itself in conflict with ordinary people, many of whom will have voted for them, and the party might even get into conflict with its own members.

[Pogonyi] And if the MSZP seeks allies from the left?

[Thurmer] The Workers Party is the main candidate here. In this case, the MSZP would have a bigger chance to successfully solve society's problems.

[Pogonyi] Will the Workers Party have the necessary 5 percent to get into parliament? You recently predicted 7 to 8 percent for yourselves.

[Thurmer] According to the data of the National Electoral Committee, some 1,800 individual parliamentary candidates have been registered in the country. Taking an average of 1,000 nomination slips per candidate, this means some 1.8 million slips. The Workers' Party candidates collected much more, a multiple of a thousand nomination slips on average.

[Pogonyi] You now have 156 individual candidates, in 20 regional lists.

[Thurmer] This means that the Workers' Party collected some 7 to 9 percent of the nomination slips. We are happy that very many young people gave us their nomination slips, and very many people said that although they were afraid to do this, however, they would certainly vote for us at the elections. If no violent acts take

place in the country and there is no rough and obvious cheating at the elections then the Workers Party will be in parliament.

[Pogonyi] Personally, to what do you attribute the Workers Party's relative advancement? Is nostalgia for the former regime so widespread?

[Thurmer] People are now judging on the basis of their own experiences. Boross is saying it in vain that the economic situation is better now than in 1989-1990. It is impossible to explain it to 1 million unemployed people that, as a matter of fact, they are living in prosperity. People with large families, or others, especially the school leavers who are without jobs, or the deceived teachers cannot be persuaded to believe this. Everyone knows that the Workers Party is not responsible for the past four years. If any consistent opposition party existed in the past four years then that was us. We did not make compromises or pacts, we do not have headquarters affairs, and our deputies are not members of boards of directors in banks. People can see this and they trust in us. Within the party, we have seen an important change of generations. I have had a look through the national lists of parties. Well, none of them have a 23 years old laborer from Csepel or 30 years old nuclear engineer from Paks. Apart from the Federation of Young Democrats [Fidesz] the parties are full of elderly gentlemen—although their number is increasing in the Fidesz, too.

[Pogonyi] What is the opinion of the Workers Party on the media's current situation? You have not yet said much about this.

[Thurmer] We are in favor of the freedom of the press. We have sympathy for the 129 dismissed radio journalists, and we made this view public, but even the affected people did not write about this. They have our sympathy, even though some of the dismissed people have not had much sympathy for us in the past four years. Today, a real freedom of the press does not exist, therefore, it will be very difficult to neutralize four years of brainwashing with tulips [symbol of the MDF] in the remaining four weeks.

MDF Chairman on Election Chances, Left Wing

AU1504131894 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 13 Apr 94 p 5

[Interview with Lajos Fur, defense minister and chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, by Janos Papp; place and date not given: "Many Possible Chances—Lajos Fur in Nagykovacsi"]

[Text] At the campaign meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] on 12 April, Lajos Fur gave a speech on the activities of the Hungarian parliament and Government and on the achievements of the MDF. Among other things, he said that the government has many times been called a dilettante, mainly by the left wing, and at other times it was accused of lack of expertise, but the facts prove otherwise. Parliament has functioned undisturbed in the past four years and it created more than 400 laws. The MDF and its partners were able to ensure the country's security and stability and, owing to the population's wisdom, calmness and discipline were preserved. It is not by chance that, at the end of the four-year governmental cycle, the MDF is thanking the Hungarian people for calm and cooperation. Lajos Fur spoke about establishing the conditions for economic boom, settling the ownership relations in agriculture, and finally he said that a healthy national self-esteem is needed and, being aware of this, people will decide in favor of continuing on the current road.

Lajos Fur gave an interview to our correspondent after the campaign meeting.

[Papp] To what extent does the result of the nomination of candidates that ended on 8 April justify the former statements according to which the Polish syndrome, where parties belonging to the fragmented center and the right wing excluded themselves from the possibility of governing, may be repeated in Hungary?

[Fur] The Hungarian political forces are not as fragmented as they were in Poland. Several outcomes are still possible here. The contest will be decided between the left wing and the center or center-right forces. I can still see a great chance that the some 40 percent of the electors who still have not decided whether to vote at all will, in the remaining three to four weeks, decide to support the center and right-wing forces, rather than the left wing.

[Papp] During their discussions with the current socialist leaders of the former communist countries, the left-wing politicians spend much time talking about the issue of the interest representation of Hungarians living beyond the border. What are your views on this?

[Fur] I could put it this way: Recently, everyone seems to have become a very true Hungarian. People who previously spoke about Christian regime, preached or screeched about the yokels' style of showing one's being a true Hungarian, have now suddenly realized that they support the Christian churches, and they foster the cause of Hungarians beyond the border; many such campaign measures have been included in the propaganda of certain parties recently. I hope that the public will remember what the same people said about the church, Christianity, and the Hungarians a few months ago. They will also hopefully remember how our critics voted in Parliament on these issues.

[Papp] The Socialists have not named their prime ministerial candidate and Prime Minister Peter Boross objected to this a few days ago.

[Fuir] Yes, there is some mysticism in this issue. The former communists and post-communists always adhered to the practice that they did not inform anyone about their decision, they thought they would make their decisions internally and then let the public know later. I am afraid that this is again a case of the old reflexes.

MDF Spokesman Cited on Foreign Policy Issues

LD1504132094 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Gyorgy Csoti, foreign affairs spokesman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], has held a press briefing about the MDF's foreign policy views. Judit Laszlo supplies the details.

[Laszlo] The MDF welcomes the policy of Slovak Prime Minister Jozef Moravcik because his government is willing to hold a dialogue, Gyorgy Csoti, the party's foreign affairs spokesman, said when analyzing Hungarian-Slovak relations. In connection with the southern Slav crisis, Gyorgy Csoti said that the slowdown in negotiations is alarming. In his view, Russia and the West ought to coordinate their activity more closely to resolve the crisis.

The foreign affairs spokesman called attention to the dangerous phenomena of Hungarian party politics, particularly in connection with a statement made by Gyula Horn, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP].

Gyula Horn met with Romanian Senate President Oliviu Gherman yesterday and then told journalists that in the view of the MSZP an agreement is possible concerning the issue of a Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty. According to Gyorgy Csoti, this suggests that it is the fault of the current Hungarian Government that a basic treaty has not so far been signed and that an agreement would be possible if the MSZP came to power.

For this reason, the MDF, having drawn the general conclusions, is of the view that the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the MSZP—presumably in a coordinated manner—are subordinating basic foreign political interests to party goals in the election campaign. This conduct seriously harms the country's security; it weakens our negotiating positions with Slovakia, Romania, and Serbia, and it makes a historical reconciliation with our neighbors impossible, the MDF statement points out.

NDSZ Chairman on Economic, Election Prospects

AU1504131994 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 13 Apr 94 p 8

[Interview with Imre Pozsgay, chairman of the National Democratic Federation, by Jozsef Peter; place and date not given: "National Consensus Also in the Economy"]

[Text] [Peter] In the heat of the election campaign, every party offers lower taxes and greater benefits to investors and prospective voters. I presume you are doing the same. Is there any original idea in the economic program of the National Democratic Federation [NDSZ]?

[Pozsgay] Our program has two basic elements: One is the starting of economic growth, the other is the protection of domestic industry and production, and we will also contribute to this with protectionist laws if necessary. This is not something to hide at all. I visited the United States recently and I saw there a protectionist legislature bordering on discrimination. I think we also have an original idea on how to handle our debts. We are convinced that we are unable to create adequate means for economic growth precisely because of the large-scale outflow of resources. We do not say that we do not want to pay at all; we only say that foreign debt is not a fate, but the consequence of a mistaken economic policy. Therefore, we want to renegotiate our repayment system.

[Peter] According to experts, this is impossible because of the structure of our foreign debt.

[Pozsgay] We also have experts who claim that the repayment conditions are renegotiable and that it is possible to handle even such a diversified and funded debt. It is possible to convince the creditors to invest their bonds in Hungary. The bonds of those who refuse to do this must be sold. This way, we could fulfill our repayment obligation while the money would stay here and could be used for development. Taking new credits is not risky in this system if the creditor is interested in domestic investment.

[Peter] You mentioned economic revival. How do you envisage this?

[Pozsgay] First of all, we must find the sources that make it possible to start the economic growth, in our view, manpower and the joining capital. As I already mentioned, we can get capital by restructuring our debt and by targeted capital investment, and not one that further increases our debts. All this is needed for this well-trained society capable of work to be able to work. We think it is a mistaken policy to focus on handling unemployment; our goal is to create employment, and economic growth is a precondition for this. We also think it is important to develop a credit system to support the new ventures, a system that would also give a chance for the people working in agriculture and food production to survive.

[Peter] The NDSZ has a rather original idea on privatization. If I recall it correctly, in one of your speeches, you mentioned a privatization by referendum.

[Pozsgay] My words were probably misunderstood, because I spoke of national consensus, and not a referendum and, in my opinion, the fate of our national property also belongs here. We say that we should convene a national coordination congress to deal with the preparation of a new constitution and the coordination of public interests regarding the protection of national property. As a result, the big national interest organizations could come to an agreement, like the state, the employers, and the employees in Austria and Spain. Among other things, this agreement would deal with the management of our national sovereignty; in other words, we must decide what we can give away from our independence regained with bitter struggle for the benefit of our joining the international integration.

[Peter] What is your opinion about the privatization practice?

[Pozsgay] In my opinion, in working out the concept of privatization, a very important element was overlooked, namely that we are not talking here simply about the exchange of property, but about a change in social structure. Therefore, the Hungarian privatization cannot be compared with the British one, for example, where privatization is simply a matter of rates: When the Labour Party is in power, they nationalize property; when the Conservative Party is in power, they engage in privatization. They can do that, because all this only affect a tiny part of the national property. There has been no privatization in Hungary before; we must change a system called socialist and of stalinist origin into a market economy: almost 90 percent of industrial equipment and millions of workers. Therefore, in my opinion, corruption is not the biggest mistake of the Hungarian privatization, because this is only something that accompanies the distribution, something that originates from a lack of concept.

[Peter] You said in one of your interviews that the party that can bring hope to people will win the upcoming elections. In your opinion, is the NDSZ capable of doing this?

[Pozsgay] Yes, because we offer work to the people. If they have work, their living conditions will improve and their fear from tomorrow will disappear. Let us not forget that we are part of European civilization and people adjust their demands to this. If needed, people can give up some of their demands, but they will not endure deprivation beyond a certain limit. Therefore, we must provide a systematic security to the weak strata of the population and to the backward areas. Unless we come to our senses, our capital city will soon resemble Mexico, while other areas become poor and deserted.

[Peter] Regarding its economic program, with what other party could the NDSZ cooperate?

[Pozsgay] If you allow me, I will not name parties here; instead, I will say that we can cooperate with all the parties engaged in the protection of domestic production and domestic market and which regard domestic bourgeois civilization and the necessary modernization as essential. We also think that the national feeling is not an obstacle in all this; on the contrary, only a nation can create a community. Without a community image, we will become a smeared manpower source in Europe at most.

Christian Democrats Set Out Election Program

LD1604123794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Excerpts] The Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP] has called representatives of its branches to Budapest in connection with the election campaign. Katalin Horvath reports.

[Horvath] [passage omitted] The representatives of the party's branches summed up the party's program in 12 points as follows: They are to encourage investments; they are to support business enterprises and abolish the minimum tax; they are to reduce the burdens of personal income tax; they will create new work opportunities since they are to build roads, railways, hospitals, and health care institutions; they support young people's efforts to build their home as well as families with children; they are to increase agricultural subsidies; they are to combat middleman trade; they are to reduce the number of state offices; they are to step up the struggle against economic crime; and they are to pay more attention to public order.

The 12 points also include support for health tourism and village tourism as well as health protection and health education. The KDNP continues to support the churches and as a constituent part of the government they would introduce morals into the school curriculum.

Survey Assesses Popularity of List Leaders

AU1604154994 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 14 Apr 94 p 8

[Unattributed report: "Popularity of Party List Leaders"]

[Text] Compared to February, 4 percent more people were able to decide in March whom they would welcome as government head out of 10 party list leaders. Gyula Horn's advantage increased by the same proportion, which is a little higher than the incidental fluctuation, while the other changes are within the error margin, this can be learned from the latest Median public opinion survey that was carried out under MAGYAR HIRLAP's commission [between 18 and 23 March on a sample of 1,200 adults].

The electors' knowledge about the main actors in politics is increasing. In January hardly any of the surveyed people were able to identify the party affiliation of all 10 list leaders, while the proportion of the fully informed people increased to 11 percent by March. Only the knowledge about the party affiliation of Zoltan Kiraly [chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, MSZDP] did not increase. More than 700,000 people (9 percent) learned the name of Gabor Kuncze [list leader for the Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ] between February and March, 5 percent of people learned the name of Tamas Nagy [chairman of the Agrarian Federation], and the generally well-known politicians also became somewhat better known. All this means that the campaign has an effect on people and an increasing number of them are paying attention to the political actors.

Who Should Be the Prime Minister of the Next Government? (percent)

	January	February	March
Gyula Horn	21	22	26
Peter Boross	16	17	16
Gabor Kuncze	7	9	11
Janos Palotas	12	8	9
Viktor Orban	8	9	7
Jozsef Torgyan	3	6	6
Laszlo Surjan	6	5	5
Zoltan Kiraly	4	4	3
Tamas Nagy	1	1	1
Istvan Csurka	1	0	1
None of Them	10	9	7
Does Not Know	11	10	8

The popularity order of party list leaders has again been rearranged. Out of the 10 list leaders, the popularity of six decreased to a lesser or greater extent, especially among those people who do not want to vote for the party of the given list leader in May, and among those who do not yet have an established party preference. Therefore, as knowledge about the politicians is increasing, views on them are becoming more polarized.

The scandal at the radio probably damaged Peter Boross's popularity. Two-thirds of people were informed about this case, and two-thirds of these people considered the dismissals unjust. Among these people, the prime minister's popularity is 14 points lower than among those who do not have an opinion on this event, and 22 percent lower than among people who considered the dismissals rightful. The popularity of [Republic Party Chairman] Janos Palotas and Zoltan Kiraly has also faded. Rather than their popularity benefiting their parties, the fact that they entered the election battle heading relatively small parties seems to have damaged their prestige.

Popularity of Party List Leaders Among Those Who Know the Politician, March 1994 (percent)

		Change
Gyula Horn	63	+1
Janos Palotas	59	-5
Viktor Orban	56	-1
Gabor Kuncze	55	-3
Zoltan Kiraly	55	-5
Laszlo Surjan	54	-3
Peter Boross	47	-5
Tamas Nagy	47	-5
Jozsef Torgyan	31	-2
Istvan Csurka	26	+1

With the help of cluster analysis, people who were able to asses the majority of politicians can be put into five categories. Cluster analysis is a mathematical-statistical method that classifies people in such a way that the difference should be minimal between those who are in one group on the basis of their sympathy for list leaders, while the difference between the groups is maximal. The members of the various groups differ in their political views and their tastes. People in the same group are mainly similar to each other in their receptiveness to a political style.

People who do not reject any of the politicians are in the first group. Even the assessment of Jozsef Torgyan [chairman of the Independent Smallholders Party, FKGP] and Istvan Csurka [cochairman of the Hungarian Justice and Life Party, MIEP] are average. These people obviously respect the fame and authority of politicians. The proportion of this group in the electorate is 25 percent. This type is somewhat more common (30 to 33 percent) among people living in villages, in the 50 to 59 age group, the voters of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], and those who do not have established party preferences. The same proportion (23 percent) of this group would like to see Horn as prime minister as Boross.

For the second group, the opposition politicians—except for Viktor Orban [chairman of the Federation of Young Democrats, Fidesz]—are generally attractive. The popularity of Horn is exceptionally high, while the government members are unpopular, and Torgyan and Csurka are the two most disagreeable list leaders. These people are influenced by left-wing sentiment in their views on the politicians and they presumably reject the frightening, authoritarian, and extreme attitudes. Their proportion is also 25 percent. This way of thinking is somewhat more common (30 to 38 percent) among people in Budapest, those between the ages of 40 and 49, and university graduates. Some 52 percent of MSZP supporters and 36 percent of SZDSZ supporters are in this group. Sixty percent of these people would welcome Horn as prime minister and 16 percent would welcome Kuncze.

The popularity marks of Orban, Palotas, and Kuncze are higher than the average in the third group while the prime minister and especially the chairmen of the MIEP and the FKGP are very unpopular. These people obviously are open to liberal politics and reject the political style based on emotions. Their proportion is 22 percent but this is somewhat higher (27 percent) among people between the ages of 30 and 39 and among middle-school graduates. Some 45 percent of Fidesz voters and 37 percent of SZDSZ voters belong to this group. Similar proportions of this group (20 percent each) would like to see Horn, Kuncze, Orban, and Palotas as prime minister.

For the fourth group, only Boross and Laszlo Surjan [chairman of the Christian Democratic People's Party, KDNP] are acceptable politicians. They respect authority, they are pro-government, but they reject the

extreme right-wing attitude. Their proportion is 17 percent, but one-third of pensioner age people can be found here. Forty-seven percent of MDF voters and 43 percent of KDNP voters belong here. Boross would be welcome as prime minister by 45 percent of them and Surjan by 11 percent.

Finally, the fifth group consists of people among whom Torgyan and Csurka are exceptionally popular, but Boross's and Surjan's popularity is also above the average. The majority of these people feel antagonistic toward the other list leaders. They are obviously influenced by their right-wing attitude in assessing the politicians, and they are susceptible to a political style that affects the emotions. Their proportion is 11 percent. Very few people from Budapest or those with higher education (3 to 6 percent), while 22 percent of the unemployed are in this group. More than half of the FKGP's and MIEP's supporters belong here. Torgyan is seen by one-third of them as suitable to lead the new government, Boross by one-quarter, Surjan by 10 percent, and Csurka by 6 percent.

Walesa Opposes Attempts To Limit Powers

LD1604122294 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1000 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Relayed by Warsaw TV Polonia Network]

[Text] Commenting on the proposed amendments to the Small Constitution which would limit his powers, President Lech Walesa said that he would have to ask for greater control over what Sejm deputies are doing.

Lech Walesa, who is in Litomysl, said that he does not believe that the coalition has serious thoughts about limiting presidential rights, but if it makes such an attempt then it will bear the consequences.

Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski stated that if amendments to the Constitution were passed in the Sejm, the president would then have to defend the Constitution.

A group of Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] deputies who tabled the bill with these amendments want the Sejm to have the power to appoint ministerial candidates put forward by the prime minister, should the president refuse to sign such a nomination. According to the bill, the dissolved Sejm would end its term of office only on the day of the first sitting of a newly elected parliament. The coalition needs a two-thirds majority in the Sejm to pass the amendments to the Constitution. To achieve such a majority, the SLD and PSL deputies require a dozen or so votes more.

Threatens To 'Dissolve' Parliament

LD1604204494 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1758 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Apr—Today, after his return to Poland from the informal summit of the presidents of the Central European countries in Litomysl, President Lech Walesa announced that he would dissolve parliament if the government coalition were to attempt to curb or change his constitutional prerogatives.

"Let me remind you, the president is guardian of the Constitution and if there are matters or changes that are necessary, I will support them. However, not every time and not all changes—I will not allow such changes. One must not do it at this moment—I cannot allow this to happen in the interest of democracy and in the interest of the role of president of the country," the president said.

Asked about what excuse he would use to dissolve parliament, the president replied: "The same excuse that is being used to amend the Constitution. This decision is final. If there is a change in the Constitution, if someone dares to do it in this manner, he should not kid himself—I will face the State Tribunal but parliament will be dissolved," Lech Walesa said.

Commenting on his meeting with the presidents of Austria, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Hungary in Litomysl, Lech Walesa said that regional cooperation was necessary and that it was an outcome of the changes that had taken place in Central Europe. He said that such cooperation should be discussed and that this will bring results.

UD Leader Mazowiecki Comments

LD1604181694 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Democratic Union [UD] leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki, commenting on President Walesa's statement regarding possible early parliamentary elections should deputies want to restrict the constitutional prerogatives of the head of state, said that the Constitution could not be constantly amended with every conflict.

He added that the parliament had, after all, the right to change the Basic Law and that this was no reason to threaten it with dismissal.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki also said he was not in favor of changes to the Constitution because this situation concerned a dispute between the ruling coalition and the president. A proper constitution should be set up once and for all, declared the UD leader.

Oleksy on 'Harmful' Threat

LD1704092794 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0750 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Apr—After the return of the parliamentarian delegation from Japan on Sunday, Sejm Speaker Jozef Oleksy told journalists that he saw no legal possibility for the dissolution of parliament by the president.

Oleksy described the president's threat to dissolve parliament as "harmful" and added that this might cause an increase of tension in relations between the coalition and the president. Oleksy described the deputies' initiative to introduce amendments to the Small Constitution and to limit the president's competences as a normal legislative initiative to which you should not react by sulking but by having talks about it.

"I invariably call on the president and the coalition to have talks," Oleksy said and stressed that as a result of divergencies between the government and the president the image of Poland on the international arena could be damaged.

Daily Views Conflict

WS1804095994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Apr 94 pp 1, 2

[Article by J.B.L.: "Deputies' Initiative Cause[s] a Coal[i]tion-Belvedere War; Constitutional Blackmail"]

[Text] After the statement was issued that the deputies of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] want to amend the Small Constitution,

Lech Walesa stated that if the coalition attempted to restrict his powers, he would dissolve the Sejm "in the interest of the role of the president which he must fulfill in the state." He stressed that he would do this even if he were to be brought before the State Tribunal.

Since the information that 16 PSL and SLD deputies proposed amendments on 15 April to the Small Constitution (the possibility of rejecting a presidential veto in personnel issues and prolonging the period of the Sejm's functioning from the moment it is dissolved until a new parliament begins working) was released, the politicians of the coalition have been saying that they do not want a war with the Belvedere. Such statements were made both by Jozef Oleksy, who said that meetings and talks should be held, and Michal Strak, who commented on this issue as the only PSL politician ("The coalition did not and does not want a war with the president"). They also recall that for the time being it is only an initiative launched by a group of deputies and within a week the clubs will take a stance on it. Speaker Oleksy said that the amendment bill might be discussed by the Sejm at the beginning of May at the soonest. Some (Marek Borowski, for instance) believe that it is the president, not the coalition, that is heading for a conflict, and they point to the fact that it is because of him that the government has not had a deputy prime minister and finance minister for a few months now.

The coalition representatives recall that Lech Walesa himself started speaking about changes in the Small Constitution—he discussed changing the status of the National Security Council and of the Constitutional Tribunal. They also claim (Jozef Oleksy and Michal Strak, for instance) that they do not want to restrict the president's powers, because he still may or may not sign nominations. A novelty would be only the possibility of rejecting this veto in a parliamentary ballot, which would eliminate a situation in which "a paralysis of the political system is a fact." (Jerzy Jaskiernia)

In a television program "Minor Skirmishes" on Sunday, Aleksander Kwasniewski said that in a dispute between the president and the prime minister the Sejm should fulfill the role of an arbiter. Lech Falandysz pointed out, however, that it would be a judge in its own case because the Sejm is dominated by the coalition which has formed this government; he stated in addition that the next step of the coalition would be nominating its own ministers in the presidential ministries. Kwasniewski said that these suspicions were too great. He also stated that the coalition would collect two-thirds of votes necessary to pass amendments to the Constitution.

Coalition politicians (M. Strak, Z.Siemiatkowski, A. Kwasniewski) are not concealing the fact that the direct reason for the deputies' initiative is the deadlock that developed after Lech Walesa rejected the candidacy of Dariusz Rosati.

The president cannot dissolve the Sejm because the deputies want to amend the Small Constitution, claim SLD politicians. The same opinions are voiced by Constitutional Professors Piotr Winczorek and Stanislaw Gebethner; they recall that the Sejm has established the government and passed the budget; therefore, there is no reason why it should be dissolved.

It is not clear what the behavior of the other deputies' clubs would be if there were a ballot on the amendments to the Small Constitution. The opinions of politicians of the Labor Union and the Democratic Union [UD] are not unequivocal. Even though Ryszard Bugaj believes that the president's powers should be thought over, he is against any changes in the Constitution only because the coalition is going through problems. His party colleague Janusz Szymanski is of the opinion that amending the Constitution is a necessary step because when the Small Constitution was being drafted, the authors counted on activities in good faith and in conformity with the law, which is not always the case.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki of UD believes that the proposal on amending the Constitution (which the parliament is entitled to do) should not be a reason to threaten to dissolve it; however, according to Jan Litynski (UD) the war with the president was started by the coalition—when it tried to restrict his powers. UD will not take part in this dispute.

Implications of 'War' Examined

WS1804093094 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 18 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by Robert Krasowski under the "Analysis" rubric: "Pawlak To Wage a War Against Walesa?"]

[Text] The coalition's decision means waging a war against the Belvedere. It is also obvious that the coalition had known from the very beginning that its initiative will cause precisely these kinds of consequences since Walesa announced a long time ago that he will respond to attempts to limit his powers by dissolving parliament. So why did the coalition decide to take the step?

There is no simple answer to the question and that is mainly because for the first time, the coalition took a joint position and that is enough to cause major amazement. Ever since it was established, the coalition had to deal with various degrees of disputes and for the last three months, it has been in a state of permanent crisis. So what could the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] and the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] gain by striking at the Belvedere together?

In SLD's case, the issue is simple. It has become obvious for the winner in the 19 September elections, that Poland is just not big enough for SLD aspiring to be the first player, and Walesa who is getting ready to be reelected. All of the SLD's political measures were directly or indirectly torpedoed by the Belvedere. Such was the case with the introduction of deputy ministers into presidential ministries (recently, the Belvedere has made a particularly malicious mockery of the SLD's candidate to

the Defense Ministry); it was the same case with pushing through the electoral law to gmina [small administrative units] councils, and also with the neo- popiwek [wage-controlling] legislation.

Blocking Dariusz Rosati's nomination was the most spectacular strike by the Belvedere. After that decision, SLD leaders made a decision that they cannot conduct a common game with Walesa, and they decided to give up trying to come up with another candidate. They decided a war with Walesa must take place and that they will wage it under the banner of Rosati, no less.

At any rate, for a few months now the SLD leadership has deliberated on what front to wage this war to prevent society from perceiving it as a battle for posts. In the end, the leadership made a decision that a campaign for the entry of a professional into the government will be socially successful. "What are we to do, if the president interferes with our day-to-day ruling of the country?"—this is the kind of argument which society must like.

This kind of war will surely be supported by the SLD's anti-Walesa electorate. What is more, the war will strengthen the electorate which is seriously bitter over the lack of implementation of the election program. At the same time, the SLD is exposing an enemy who is making it impossible to implement the promises soon.

The coalition's war with the Belvedere is extremely beneficial to the SLD also for the reason that it throws Pawlak once and for all into the arms of his coalition partner. After all, it is thanks to a joint game with the Belvedere that Pawlak was successful in marginalizing the SLD's political influence. A breaking apart of the Pawlak-Belvedere alliance is—from the SLD's perspective—not just a guarantee of the coalition's durability, but also a prospect for dominating the PSL which in the future will be left entirely on its own.

There is also a personal element in the fight. It is no accident that it was precisely Kwasniewski (along with Cimoszewicz) who was trying to push through a constitutional amendment during a meeting of the coalition. It is precisely Kwasniewski who is the main victim of the Pawlak-Walesa alliance. By breaking the arrangement apart, Kwasniewski can hope for a reconstruction of his political authority and also for delivering a blow to his main political rivals in the presidential campaign—Walesa first of all, and second Pawlak, who is condemned to cooperation with the SLD.

All this leads to just one thing—the cards will finally go into the hands of the SLD, which for the last few months has been watching state politics more than shaping them. And if one can defeat Walesa in the war, then the SLD's triumph will be complete. Once Walesa is defeated, it will be easy to push him out of the political scene. But Pawlak himself must be aware of these motives of the SLD leaders. Despite that—and to the leaders' surprise—the prime minister agreed to a war being waged against Walesa. Perhaps Pawlak himself got scared of being too dependent on the Belvedere and he came to understand that support for the SLD initiative is a precondition for maintaining the coalition's coherency. But that still does not explain why he spoke so clearly in the SLD's favor. It was not so long ago that he himself explained to PSL Sejm deputies that he wants to avoid situations where he would be a side in an SLD-Walesa dispute. He knows very well that once Walesa turns against him, he will be condemned to cooperation with the SLD which is stronger in parliament than he is.

But it is quite possible that Pawlak's consent is not final yet. If it turns out that Walesa regards the attempt to limit his powers not as a dispute but as a war, then Pawlak may distance himself from the plan to amend the Small Constitution. It is no accident that it is a draft coming from Sejm deputies, and not from the coalition. So it is possible that SLD will be finally left alone in its fight with the president.

It is also possible that Pawlak felt offended by the rejection of Rosati's candidacy. After all, from a certain point in time, Rosati was not just the SLD's candidate but the entire coalition's. All society could see, was that the prime minister went to the Belvedere with a motion to have Rosati nominated, and Walesa refused.

The threat to veto the budget must not have been to Pawlak's liking, either. After all, it was his government that had prepared the budget, and the possibility of vetoing it would be a strike primarily against Pawlak himself. It turned out that Walesa likes to keep people in suspense and to deliver affronts not just to the SLD.

It seems that apart from the above, there are just two explanations for Pawlak's decision. The first one—and the least likely—is that Pawlak became convinced that in order to win the presidential elections, one must destroy Walesa as soon as possible. And since Walesa is a difficult opponent, one must begin fighting him now.

The other explanation is that Pawlak and the SLD have not declared a war yet but they have set an ultimatum. So Pawlak is not delivering a strike at Walesa but he is just putting on a show intended to be a show of force. If Walesa nominates Rosati and if he stops blocking the introduction of coalition deputy ministers into the presidential ministries, then the coalition will reject the Sejm deputies' draft. Then a war will not take place, and all the parties will be able to present their decisions as a victory. Pawlak will prove that he is a real prime minister who does not allow either the SLD or the president to interfere with his prerogatives. The SLD will demonstrate that it is not an opponent that anyone can mistreat. And Walesa will demonstrate that he places responsibility for the country over personal ambitions.

But if all it is, is just an ultimatum, then it will have a major flaw from the president's standpoint—he has no guarantee that the coalition will not take it as a sign of his weakness, and that it will not think of ruling the country without Lech Walesa.

So if all Pawlak meant was an ultimatum, he managed to wage a war, anyway.

Ties Between Walesa, Solidarity Examined

WS1504133294 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 15 Apr 94 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Zaluska: "You Shall Return; Will 'Solidarity' Support Walesa in Presidential Elections?"]

[Text] **"The most important thing is to target the electorate in the correct manner"—Lech Walesa keeps saying before the presidential elections. As for himself, he is targeting "Solidarity" and he has already made it his first offer. Professor Zbigniew Religa is the intermediary—the chief of the pro- Belvedere Non-Party Bloc in Support of Reforms, wants to put his parliamentary club at the disposal of "Solidarity."**

But first the trade union and the Belvedere must apologize to one another.

Separation or Divorce?

Walesa stopped being interested in "Solidarity" three years ago, when he became president. It was easier to fight for power along with the trade union, than to be in power with it. The issue of file-checking was the ultimate reason behind the dispute between the two sides. Walesa brought Olszewski's government down and "Solidarity" did not invite him to its national congress. The trade union and the Belvedere turned their backs on each other.

"We are beginning to go separate ways"—stated the president a year ago.

But today, he is making gestures aimed at an agreement. He recalled that "Solidarity" exists in February, after a big, anti- government rally in Warsaw. That was a message that the trade union is again gaining strength.

Something in Return for Something Else

Walesa needs the trade union again. The elections will be in a year and a half, while he continues to be without a "home front." There is a political vacuum surrounding the Belvedere. The attempt to create a presidential camp along with the right wing, backfired. "Solidarity" remains.

What can Walesa offer the trade union in return for its support? He can offer it what the trade union is missing the most—efficiency.

Walesa Holds the Pen

The day 19 September was a day of defeat for the old anticommunist opposition. The coalition, consisting of the Democratic Left Alliance and the Polish Peasant Party, seemed to be made of granite.

For six months now, Walesa has been successfully breaking the granite into pieces. He signed Borowski's resignation and he blocked Rosati's nomination. His veto "killed" popiwek [earning control legislation]. The trade union was not capable of accomplishing that over four years. The president's pen turned out a more effective political weapon than protests and strikes by "Solidarity."

This must impress. And it does. We know from "leaks" that Walesa's shares are "going up" in the trade union's National Commission.

Everybody or Nobody?

But the involvement of "Solidarity" in the presidential campaign cannot be determined through a vote. Either the entire trade union will support him, or else...it will split.

There is no one "Solidarity" "on the Walesa issue." It includes both pro-presidential and anti-presidential activists. They were both in the crowds that burned Walesa in effigy, and among those who expressed their indignation at the burners.

That is why a decision on whether or not to support Walesa will not be made soon. It is possible that "Solidarity" will not be capable of making such a decision at all.

Solidarity Leader Cited on Supporting Walesa

WS1804104994 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Apr 94 p 2

[Report by P.W.R.: "Small Chance of An Alliance Between 'Solidarity' and Walesa"]

[Excerpt] "Solidarity" ["S"] Head Marian Krzaklewski said that the possibilities of a political maneuver that the union can carry out are limited. "S" has nothing left to do but put pressure on the authorities. According to him, the president should try to achieve successes that would also be the successes of the union; however, at the same time he did not say that the union would support Walesa in the forthcoming presidential elections.

More Demonstrations

On 16 April Krzaklewski was a guest at the 9th General Congress of the Mazowsze Region Delegates. He told the delegates that he could see two possibilities of fighting for "S" demands. The first consists of political possibilities. He said that the openness of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] would be a chance; however, "this party most clearly does not want to take advantage of this chance." He added that in the PSL the old nomenklatura is gaining an upper hand. According to Krzaklewski, another political solution might be cooperation with the president. However, according to the "S" chairman, the president did not take advantage of the chance to "improve the dialogue with the union" before signing the budget. He should have held talks with "S" and, before signing the budget, he should have submitted conditions to the coalition; the conditions could have

made it possible to satisfy at least some demands. Later on, asked bluntly by one of the delegates whether "S" might back Lech Walesa in the presidential elections, Krzaklewski said that "as a result of such alliances, the union may become dependent and it will depend first of all on the president's activities whether the unionists will support him."

"I personally cannot see the possibility of a political alliance; however, this will be decided by the congress," added Krzaklewski.

Thus, in the present situation the union should count first of all on itself in the fight for its demands. The "S" leader announced that there would be further pressure exerted on authorities; however, there would be fewer strikes, more demonstrations and information campaigns.

Wrzodak Attacks Jankowski

Zygmunt Wrzodak, radical activist of the Mazovian "S," criticized at the congress the activities of the Region's Chairman Maciej Jankowski. He said that the strikes, manifestations, and pickets were not very successful in the region. He asked Jankowski what he had done since the beginning of his term and what he was going to do this year. [passage omitted]

More on 1994-97 Economic Development Plan

WS1504110894 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 15-17 Apr 94 p 4

[Report by Sabina Augustynowicz: "Hopes for Growth; Draft Economic Program for 1994-1997"—first paragraph published in boldface; passages within slantlines published in italics]

[Text] **For the first time since 1989, the Central Planning Administration [CUP] has prepared a four-year program for Poland's social and economic development until the year 1997. The government's preferential treatment of exporters, investors, as well as state protectionism in some branches of the economy, are supposed to make the program successful. On the other hand, the program's implementation could be impeded by the lifting of earning controls in state-owned enterprises.**

"We have analyzed three versions of the program: the warning option, the extensive-development option, and the basic option—which is difficult but implementable"—said Miroslaw Pietrewicz, a minister and CUP's chief. *"We decided in favor of proposing the third option to the Council of Ministers. The decision was determined by the domestic situation—unemployment, obsolete industrial machinery, indebtedness by enterprises which last year reached 550 trillion zlotys [Z], and the crisis of public finances. Poland's debts have reached the level of Z1,400 trillion. To service the debt this year, we will need Z112 trillion. On the other hand, we have reported an economic growth of some extent, even though it is still fragile and uncertain. We are also hopeful concerning the economic revival in the West. But generally speaking, the starting point for the program's implementation is difficult"*—CUP's chief added.

The program is based on the assumption of growth in GDP by 22 percent over four years, as well as an increase in consumption generally by 15 percent, and an increase in investment of around 40 percent. There is also an assumption of approximately a 1.5-percent yearly increase in real wages and salaries. According to M. Pietrewicz, this kind of growth is dependent first of all on a speeding up of the rate of ownership transformations and economic modernization. But investments in enterprises are linked with the need to save money by those enterprises and to devote savings to production capital. *"It is hard to say whether we will be successful in that"*—the minister stated. *"Investing money in investments is more risky than investing in bonds."*

The version of the program suggested by CUP requires an intensification of exports. So it is based on a widening of consumption markets for Polish merchandise beyond the traditional markets. But the program also envisages difficulties in eliminating the negative foreign-trade balance. Modernization of the economy will require an increase in the imports of modern technologies. So the state is supposed to provide clearly preferential treatment to exporters, for instance by providing insurance for risks of credit exports—this according to assurances received from CUP. Apart from that, state protectionism will be visible particularly in large economic branches such as mining, steelworks, the defense industry, and the energy industry. When asked whether state intervention and protectionist policies will not deter foreign investors—whose involvement will largely determine the program's success—Minister Halina Wasilewska replied: *"It is not true that foreign capital invests mainly in those areas where there is full liberalization. On the contrary—investors demand outright protectionism, as in the form of tax or customs-duties breaks."*

CUP also makes the success of the proposed program for social and economic development in Poland dependent on a gradual abandonment of earning controls. According to the CUP chief, the sudden elimination of such controls would cause equally sudden consequences. Italy serves as an example—over there, such a step resulted in a breakdown of the economic situation. It is a complicated issue. The controls and popiwek [earning-control legislation] should be eliminated, but not yet. First, principles of indexation of benefits should be changed, enterprises should be commercialized, and the issue of companies with a strong, monopoly position on the market, resolved; a special commission should also be established which would deal with earning issues. Otherwise, the implementation of the program proposed by CUP would be very hard. Miroslaw Pietrewicz also expressed his hope that thinking along economic lines will prevail.

If the implementation of the program is successful, then we can expect 1997 expenditures on the educational

system to be similar to those of 1989 (it is the same case with health services); we can also expect 1-1.2 percent of GDP to be devoted to science, 3 percent to the defense system, as well as a rate of unemployment which would not exceed 14 percent of the professionally active population of Poland.

Privatization Minister on Policies, Strategies

WS1504150094 Poznan WPROST in Polish 17 Apr 94 pp 13, 14

[Interview with Ownership Transformations Minister Wieslaw Kaczmarek by Krzysztof Golata; place and date not given: "Capitalists Without Capital"]

[Excerpt] [Golata] Do you have allies supporting the privatization process now that Minister Borowski has resigned?

[Kaczmarek] Many persons want to implement privatization on their own. I believe that we must declare war on the belief in the healing power of branch holdings which are supposed to cure all Polish ailments. Many countries are currently abandoning such organizational structures in favor of manufacturing-commercial consortia, which minimize the risk of the economic activity that is being pursued.

[Golata] The industry minister suggests that you share the responsibility for the effects of privatization. Does this issue concern only responsibility?

[Kaczmarek] The crux of the dispute lies in the following: I believe that a separate law should be drafted which would define the rules of commercialization of state-run enterprises—I do not think that they should be defined in the privatization law which is being amended right now. I do not think that we should start the discussion with the question of who decides the composition of the supervisory boards. First the relations between the Treasury and the method of managing the public wealth must be defined, and only then should we speak about the tools—privatization and commercialization. We must humbly accept that the era of bureaucratic steering of enterprises is coming to an end; beginning is the time of constructing systems that regulate the functioning of the economy. In other words, the point is to specify the rules of the game within the various sectors. This is what the branch ministries should deal with, not with the fight for bureaucracy's power in the economy. The problem of the structure of ownership is of secondary importance.

[Golata] Deputy Bogdan Pek criticizes all your decisions; Ryszard Bugaj queries the number of enterprises selected for participation in the Mass Privatization Program [PPP]. The atmosphere over privatization is not very favorable to you.

[Kaczmarek] I think that Deputy Pek has already stopped criticizing me. The querying of my activities results from the fact that at the beginning of my activity I was not able to win the trust of the chairman of the Sejm committee. The differences of opinions on privatization were primarily a result of the different levels of knowledge on ownership transformations, in which I have been taking part for quite some time now. Nevertheless, I think that emotions have died down and a cease fire has gone into effect. Now, the criticism of Deputy Bugaj is of a definitely statistical, not substantive nature. I would expect a polemic concerning the changes brought about in the economy by the process of mass privatization. In my opinion, the fewer election campaigns, the better the atmosphere over privatization. It has always been so that in ownership transformations political capital was made. Now we should start making capital without this adjective.

[Golata] Do you not get the impression that we are now in a waiting period? Employees are waiting for free shares, and enterprises are waiting for a magic law that would improve their financial condition...

[Kaczmarek] I have come across such opinions. In the ministry no one is waiting for anything and the privatization program is being implemented. In two-thirds of all the transformations, decisions are made in voivodships. The PPP is in a phase in which it is difficult to expect any spectacular successes. I believe that people's expectations concerning the distribution of free shares have been aroused too much. Therefore, I am not surprised that enterprises and employees are waiting for a new privatization law. We are not going to force anyone to take part in mass privatization, even though we are often attacked for using procedures that are said to be too democratic.

[Golata] It should be expected that at least 15 percent of the free shares of the privatized enterprises will bring about the opposition of all those who will not be able to enjoy this privilege.

[Kaczmarek] I have already been asked such a question: On the basis of what norms do I want to divide Poles into two categories—those who work in privatized companies and those outside them? I must admit that the pact on enterprise, negotiated by the trade unions, does not include any offer for the employees of the budget sphere, the people of free professions, senior citizens, disabled pensioners, and the employees of companies which will not be privatized. I think that a dispute over who should be given the shares and who should not does not make any sense. Privatization must be a result of a well-considered economic decision.

[Golata] Giving away shares does not have much to do with economics.

[Kaczmarek] Some have said not just "a" but also "b" by promising 100 million zlotys first, and then 300 million. In a country whose society does not have very extensive capital resources, such slogans arouse emotions and hopes. One cannot go totally "upstream"—one must give satisfaction also to those who are not working in enterprises being privatized.

[Golata] They still have the popular privatization and the National Investment Funds [NFI].

[Kaczmarek] These assure participation in the privatization process to all those who are willing to try it, and they are also a form of the state fulfilling its obligations vis-a-vis some social groups.

[Golata] A post on an NFI supervisory board must be profitable since a few thousand people have submitted their applications for the position.

[Kaczmarek] I am not sure whether these posts will be so profitable. Out of 6,800 candidates, about 100 will remain. I would like the supervisory boards to include persons with experience in the area of so-called financial engineering, as well as persons skilled in strategic planning. I know for a fact that Poland does not have too many such experts. I am first of all eager to have economic practitioners who are capable of showing a record of success.

[Golata] The privatization program for 1994 provides that 12.3 trillion zlotys will go into the budget as profit from sales of enterprises. So that means we continue to regard ownership transformations as a source of providing additional resources to the state budget?

[Kaczmarek] That is unavoidable. We must keep in mind that every transaction means not just an inflow into the budget of a sum equal to the price of the sale—let us not forget taxes and customs duties which result from increases in the turnover of companies subjected to privatization.

[Golata] Looking at privatization from the budget's standpoint often leads to accusations about insufficient prices of companies being sold.

[Kaczmarek] I would like everyone who makes such accusations, to be able to listen to negotiations with the given strategic investor. On the other hand, I doubt whether we will manage to work out clear criteria for evaluating the ownership transformations minister's activities.

[Golata] Just one unsuccessful privatization—for instance that of Bank Slaski—may annul 100 ownership transformations beneficial to the economy.

[Kaczmarek] The lucky part about the whole misfortune of the Bank Slaski case, was that the bank was privatized by the Finance Ministry. But it was my ministry that was burdened with the entire odium. Unfortunately, big social expectations regarding privatization are accompanied by a small tolerance for mistakes that are made. Of course, you can always say one should have predicted a number of situations. But on the other hand, compare the first and the most recent agreements on capital privatization. There is a huge difference, qualitatively speaking.

[Golata] An accusation is often levied that the ministry sells such companies to foreign capital, which should remain in Polish hands. This accusation applies for instance to the tobacco industry.

[Kaczmarek] The dispute surrounding the tobacco industry is more ambition-driven than it is about substance. I am not completely convinced as to whose interests the persons defending the status quo represent—is it the interests of state-owned companies, or else of foreign companies which have obtained a license to build new factories? In a situation where 22 percent of the cigarettes come from abroad, it is the importers that gain the biggest advantage from the dispute. I will strive to have the tobacco industry privatized.

Every strategic investor, before he receives his portfolio of the majority of shares, will have to present an investment program and also the fundamentals of his policies vis-a-vis the growers. We must be taking care of the state's monopoly in Treasury issues, but we will not be striving at a monopoly of state property. We are no match for the competition.

[Golata] Does the need to maintain a national character also apply to other branches?

[Kaczmarek] In an increasing number of cases, the argument is also raised in talks regarding the oil branch's privatization. Unfortunately, a concept for having the branch privatized is still missing while time flies very fast. Poland's entry into Europe means we will be flooded with products made by Western refineries. Not a lot is happening regarding the privatization of the telecommunications industry. That is strange, when you take into account how highly profitable the sector is.

[Golata] It seems that you will be successful in meeting one goal—by the end of the year, the number of companies registered on the stock market will double.

[Kaczmarek] That is not my contribution but just a case of a correct forecast. What happened at the stock market in March, must cause concern. But it could be that the Polish stock market is becoming normal. The fact that private companies are interested in joining the stock market, is cause for optimism. The prevalence of petty investors who respond nervously to changes in the economic situation, is a weakness of the Polish capital market. [passage omitted]

Minister Announces Drop in Unemployment

WS1404150494 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 14 Apr 94 p 2

[Report by "MAW": "Official Optimism; Number of Unemployed in March Decreased by 19,000"]

[Text] ***"Since October, we have been witnessing a decreasing trend in the level of unemployment, and at this point I can be more optimistic in hoping that the trend will hold"—said Labor Minister Leszek Miller during a news conference on 13 April. "The number of people registered at unemployment offices was almost 3 million people at the***

end of March. This represents a drop of almost 19,000 people compared with February"—added Deputy Labor Minister Jerzy Szreter.

The falling trend in unemployment was reported in 38 voivodships—almost 24,000 people in total. On the other hand, there was an increase in 11 voivodships in March of this year, by a total of 4,300 people. According to the deputy minister, *the falling trend will hold until the end of June, but beginning in July, there will be another increase, due to new graduates entering the picture.* At the end of March, people registered at unemployment offices comprised 16 percent of the professionally active population. By this time, 132,000 people were registered—a drop of 1.4 percent from February. On the other hand, almost 152,000 people were crossed off the unemployment list, which is an increase of almost 26 percent of all unemployed people, compared with the previous month. Those who were taken off the register accepted permanent jobs, interventionist work [not further specified], and public works jobs offered by unemployment offices.

The highest unemployment rates continue to be in the following voivodships: Koszalin, Suwalki, Slupsk, Olsztyn, Elblag, Walbrzych, Pila, and Ciechanow. The lowest rates of unemployment were reported in the following voivodships: Krakow, Warsaw, Poznan, and Katowice. Minister Miller also informed journalists that during next week's session by the Council of Ministers, he will present a draft of an amended Labor Law Code.

Ex-King Reportedly Applied for Entry Visa

AU1504135994 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 12 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by Dumitru Constantin: "Mihai Has Applied for Entry Visa Again"]

[Text] On the morning of 11 April, quoting a communique issued at Versoix [former Romanian King Mihai's residence], the BBC announced that Mihai I of Hohenzollern and his wife had submitted their passports to the Romanian Embassy in Bern to obtain an entry visa for their return to Romania to spend the Holy Easter Holidays in Timisoara. No other details have been provided.

The Romanian Embassy in Bern officially confirmed that the British passports were submitted on 8 April and mentioned that additional instructions from the Romanian Foreign Ministry in Bucharest have been requested. The Romanian foreign minister's office said that a diplomatic courier is expected to arrive; after that officials will be able to examine the precise nature of the passports in question.

Likewise, the same office noted that additional detail might be requested regarding the nature of this visit; namely, whether this is a private visit or another type of visit, whether Mihai I of Hohenzollern recognizes the Constitution of Romania, and other such details.

It is noteworthy that the church and local authorities in Timisoara reminded the central leadership that some time ago they sent an invitation to Mihai I and his wife Ana to visit this town because, among other things, Mihai I is also the founder of the Romanian Orthodox Church in Timisoara.

PUNR Urges Dismissal of Agriculture Minister

AU1404134194 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 8 Apr 94 p 2

[Article by Adrian Ursu: "The Prime Minister Approves of the Idea of Dismissing Ioan Oancea"]

[Text] On the evening of 6 April, during the meeting of the Standing Bureau of the PUNR [National Romanian Unity Party], several members of this leading body insistently asked the leaders of the party to do all they can to have PUNR Deputy Valeriu Tabara appointed to the position of minister of agriculture. Answering this request, a PUNR delegation led by Ioan Gavra [vice president of the PUNR and of the Chamber of Deputies] met yesterday morning with Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu, whom the members of the delegation asked to order the dismissal of current Agriculture Minister Ioan Oancea as soon as possible. The PUNR's reasons for this request were the data and conclusions of the report of the anticorruption commission and other indications that the PUNR got hold of in various ways. According to Gavra's declarations, the prime minister allegedly accepted the accusations formulated by the PUNR as justified. The two sides that participated in yesterday's dialogue agreed that Oancea's dismissal would be opportune even before the report on actions of corruption would be discussed in the plenary meeting of the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament.

The participants in the meeting of the PUNR Standing Bureau also told us that during the Wednesday evening meeting, the participants proposed that Senator Viorel Salagean should be appointed as leader of the group in charge of reorganizing the Bucharest branch of the party. Considering that he declined this mission, Cornel Brahas received the respective task. Through this appointment—which might also imply his appointment to the position of president of the Bucharest branch of the party—the PUNR leaders wished to contradict rumors regarding Brahas' so-called dissidence.

Events in Gorazde—15 April

French NATO Warplane Hit

AU1504165894 Paris AFP in English 1647 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Naples, Italy, April 15 (AFP)—A French Super-Etendard fighter-bomber was hit by ground fire Friday [15 April] during a reconnaissance flight over the Gorazde region in Bosnia, a NATO spokesman said.

The plane returned safely to the French aircraft carrier Clemenceau and the pilot was not injured, he said.

UN Observers Attacked, One Killed

LD1504173894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Excerpt] We have just received another report from Gorazde. In addition to fierce attacks on Gorazde, its unarmed civilians and brave defenders of the town, the chetniks have also been attacking the UN military observers in the town. UN military observers were attacked by the chetniks at about 1700 in the Jabuka Sedlo mountain pass area while they were inspecting the demarcation lines in the area. According to unconfirmed reports, the chetniks killed one UN monitor and seriously wounded a translator in this perfidious assassination. [passage omitted]

'Massive Exodus' of Muslims

AU1504175794 Paris AFP in English 1744 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Moslems started a massive exodus from outlying districts in the Serb-besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde on Friday [15 April] to seek shelter within the town, UNHCR spokesman Peter Kessler said.

"The situation is extremely tense" said Kessler, adding that he expected the situation in the eastern enclave to deteriorate.

The exodus from northern and northeastern districts started around 3:30 P.M. (1330 GMT) and was still going on at 7 P.M., Kessler added.

Siladzic: UNPROFOR Not Protecting Anyone

LD1604001394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic made a special statement about the dramatic situation in Gorazde for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television.

[Begin Silajdzic recording] The problem lies in the fact that they wished they knew how to impose an embargo, but do not know and are refusing to defend us. In other words—neither will you defend yourselves nor will you be able to because we will not let you. This is the death sentence pronounced over Bosnia-Herzegovina by the international community. We shall adamantly insist on this issue these days. Why? Why is UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] here? UNPROFOR means the UN Protection Forces, that is what UNPROFOR stands for. Therefore, a protection force. And who are they protecting? That is an entirely different question. They are not protecting the safe havens, they are not even protecting themselves. They are not capable of protecting anybody or of bringing order to this part of the world. The question arises—Why are they here?

Furthermore, we have heard that there were many casualties today, that Gorazde is exposed to heavy artillery and tank attacks. We hold the top-ranking UN officials directly responsible for the deaths of not only these people in Gorazde but for the deaths of 200,000 people. The Security Council had voted for an embargo on arms sales to Bosnia-Herzegovina yet does not know how to protect it. We are asking ourselves why the chetnik offensive on Gorazde—which has been going on for more than two weeks now—was not checked by air strikes as prescribed by Resolutions 824 and 836. What was done was done in such a way to in fact encourage those beasts up there on those hills, they were encouraged more than impressed after losing one or two tanks. We have fighters who destroyed 10 or 12 tanks each. Therefore, neither were our fighters impressed nor those beasts. All that was to no avail.

Unfortunately, the situation is such that UN Envoy Yasushi Akashi is expected to arrive any moment from Pale. I really do not know why he went there—everything is clear. What more do they have to do to be treated the way they should be treated—as beasts and not as some side in the conflict. They killed 200,000 innocent people, they destroyed a country, they violated every human law imaginable—not only UN laws but human laws—what else should they do? They attacked UNPROFOR, they attacked them in Tuzla. After their generals said they would collect children in coffins, what else are they supposed to do so someone would react? Unfortunately, I must tell you that I received a letter from Mr. Hurd, the British Foreign Secretary, in which—believe it or not—he calls on the sides in Bosnia to refrain from any actions. I have this letter here in my pocket. He is in fact calling on us to refrain from any kind of action. And this at a moment when Gorazde is bleeding, when Brcko is bleeding, when Bihac is bleeding. Incredible but true—our people should know who we are dealing with. [end recording]

Siladzic Demands 'Appropriate Measures'

LD1704150894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] We have just learned that Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic has sent a letter to the UN Security Council [UNSC] chairman. The letter reads:

You are aware that the aggressor has been attacking the protected zone of Gorazde for 20 days now, using troops and military equipment brought from Serbia and Montenegro. The aggressor's forces have occupied a large part of the protected zone and destroyed and burned down 21 villages around Gorazde. Some 230 people have been killed and 800 wounded in the town center. Civilian facilities in the centre of Gorazde are being destroyed with all available weapons. Tens of thousands of people are facing death from shooting or starvation, the letter says.

It is a fact that the United Nations and its representatives in Bosnia-Herzegovina did not use their mandate and powers granted to them by UNSC resolutions 824 and 836. As a consequence the population which—through the arms embargo—has been denied the right to self-defense has been left without any protection. We therefore consider those who make decisions within the UN as being responsible for what has happened, the letter says.

We demand that the UNSC urgently take appropriate measures in keeping with Article 7 of the UN Charter, which means to use force to stop the attacks by Serb aggressor's forces against Gorazde. We repeat that this is an aggression by Serbia and Montenegro against the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been going on for two years. We demand the urgent establishment of an exclusion zone around Gorazde, from which the aggressor's troops and military equipment must withdraw.

Mr. President, we are talking about tens of thousands of civilians who, together with the rest of the world, expect that the peace-keeping forces will fulfill their duty, the letter says.

Discusses Situation With Christopher

LD1704172894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Haris Silajdzic, the prime minister of Bosnia-Herzegovina, today spoke on the phone with U.S. State Secretary Warren Christopher. Silajdzic warned Christopher about the critical situation in Gorazde. The aggressor has been attacking the town center and civilians in Gorazde. News reaching the U.S. public is not true. Something needs to be done urgently in order to save the lives of the tens of thousands of people, Silajdzic said among other things. Talking to Christopher, he stressed that reports said there were many wounded, and civilians were completely unprotected. According to Silajdzic, it is not only the credibility of the United Nations and NATO that is at stake, but also the credibility of the world democratic order.

Events in Gorazde—16 April

Serbs Capture Strategic Peaks

AU1604142794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Report by Obren Zerajic from Cajnice]

[Text] Fighting continues today in the area between Gorazde and Cajnice. The command of the Herzegovina Corps stresses that the units of the Srpska army are successfully carrying out their duties with the aim of enabling the expelled Serbian population from the right bank of the Drina River to return home and to save around 1,000 Serbs trapped in Gorazde itself. In fighting yesterday and overnight, the troops of the Herzegovina Corps have captured two important peaks—Gradina and Jartiste, located some five kilometers east of Gorazde. These are the positions from which all Muslim attacks toward Cajnice were launched in the past 18 days. NATO planes are today again overflying the positions of the Serb troops between Gorazde and Cajnice. True, they are flying at an altitude over three kilometers, but an air raid alarm has been in effect in Cajnice since yesterday. The local population is observing the alarm. There have been no losses in the ranks of the Herzegovina Corps in the past 24 hours.

Churkin: No Serb Plan To Take Gorazde

AU1604142894 Paris AFP in English 1412 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 16 (AFP)—Russian special envoy on ex- Yugoslavia, Vitaliy Churkin, said Saturday [16 April] Bosnian Serb forces had assured him that they did not plan to take the besieged Moslem enclave of Gorazde.

Speaking here after meeting UN special envoy on ex-Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi, Churkin said: "The two very firm assurances I think I got from them (the Bosnian Serbs) is that it is not their intention to take the town. It is not their intention to shell the town."

Serb forces were Saturday consolidating their position around the eastern town, which now shelters around 70,000 people, after capturing the last strategic positions in the area Friday.

Serb Forces Down NATO Plane

AU1604151394 Paris AFP in English 1506 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 16 (AFP)—Serb forces downed a NATO plane over Gorazde, said a witness in a radio contact with Sarajevo.

NATO Plane Down; Tanks in Streets

LD1604152594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Immediately prior to this broadcast a radio link was established with Gorazde, from where we have the news that a NATO plane has been hit above Gorazde, that it is in flames and that the pilot has bailed out. This was stated to us by Dr. Safet Cibo, a doctor in Gorazde hospital.

Let us listen to a recording of what Dr. Cibo said:

[Begin Cibo recording] They have just hit a NATO plane—flames, the plane is falling, the chetniks are shooting. [end recording]

And before this we received a report about the current situation in Gorazde.

Unfortunately we have bad news from Gorazde—chetnik tanks from both sides of the Drina River are already on the town's streets. One by one they are firing shells at residential buildings. There is no one from whom one could get reliable information about the casualties.

There is no one who could have envisaged what would happen here in the early evening.

After the 18-day-long fierce offensive, after several hundred killed and over 1,000 injured, the chetniks last night attacked two [word indistinct]. The assualts were from three directions, but they were particulalry intensive from the Jabuka and Ustipraca areas. This morning, the attacks were intensified and during the afternoon they were continued and accompanied by howitzer shelling of the town.

There were several infantry attacks on the right bank of the Drina. Kopaci was targeted by multiple-rocket launchers, and tanks from Ustipraca and from the north and south have been constantly in action. [passage indistinct]

Pilot Ejected to Safety

AU1604172594 Paris AFP in English 1715 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 16 (AFP)—The pilot of the Sea Harrier jump jet shot down over Gorazde in Bosnia-Hercegovina ejected from the airplane and escaped with only "minor scratches," a NATO spokesman said here Saturday.

He said the aircraft had been on a non-offensive operation over the mainly-Moslem UN-protected "safe area," currently under Serb attack, when it was shot down.

NATO Confirms British Plane Shot Down

AU1604185994 Paris AFP in English 1848 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Naples, Italy, April 16 (AFP)—NATO Southern Command confirmed here late Saturday [16 April] that a British Sea Harrier fighter was shot down over the eastern Bosnian enclave of Gorazde, but that the alliance had launched no air strikes.

In a statement issued at 8:00 p.m (1800 GMT), the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation command said the plane and a second aircraft were patrolling over Moslem enclave when the downing occurred.

The Southern Command said the pilot was "reported to be safe and not seriously injured after he ejected from his jet while he was responding to a (United Nations Protection Force) request for close air support in the Gorazde area."

The statement added: "The Sea Harrier was flying from the (British aircraft) carrier HMS Ark Royal. The pilot of another Sea Harrier observed the pilot ejecting from his aircraft and parachuting to the ground."

NATO added that the two aircraft "were attempting to conduct a close air support mission against a tank reported to have been firing directly into Gorazde," stressing that no NATO air strikes were launched.

The statement added: "Information avalaible to this headquarters suggests the situation around Gorazde is quiet at this time."

Earlier Saturday afternoon in Zagreb, a source close to UNPROFOR said air strikes were underway at 6:30 p.m. (1630 GMT) Saturday around the enclave.

But the source later said that the NATO air manoeuvres around the besieged enclave had been flights providing close air support and not bombing raids.

The UNPROFOR source, who declined to be named, said no Serb target had been destroyed.

Serbs Deny Downing Plane

LD1604210194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2033 GMT 16 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Cajnice, April 16 (TANJUG)—NATO planes did not bomb Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde on Saturday and the Serbs did not down the NATO British plane which was shot out of the sky over Gorazde earlier in the day because there was no need for the Serbs to activate their anti-aircraft defence, the command of the Bosnian Serb Army Herzegovina Corps said in a statement.

The plane burst into flames and fell between Mt. Grebac and the village of Ilovaca, some 15 kilometres west of Gorazde. The pilot bailed out and fell at the Baba hill

near Vitkovici on the left bank of the Drina River, in Moslem-held territory, the statement added.

The Bosnian Serb command also denied reports that NATO planes on Saturday destroyed a Serb tank which had allegedly been shelling Gorazde.

The same source said Bosnian Serb forces were not attacking the town and that Moslems in Gorazde were activating explosive devices to create the impression with the U.N. troops that the town was being shelled by the Serb artillery.

The Bosnian Serb command said it had obtained information that Moslems in Gorazde were planning an operation which would cause massive civilian casualties, similar to the one carried out at a Sarajevo downtown market on February 5, and then blame it on the Serbs.

Karadzic Denies Troops in Town

LD1604162694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1458 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Banja Luka, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—President of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic said in Banja Luka today that Srpska republic army units had not entered the town of Gorazde but that all strategic points around Gorazde are in their "hands."

"I have spoken with our generals who have an insight into the situation and they told me that the Muslims have been activating remote controlled explosive devices in order to create the impression that we are shelling the town," Karadzic said.

Karadzic said that new air strikes against the Serbs are possible because "despite being aware that Gorazde is a major Muslim stronghold, Washington is not satisfied by the degree of fear manifested by the Serb side."

Karadzic believes that this is the reason why several (UN) monitors have been left in Gorazde after the evacuation of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] members, so that they could be used as an excuse for air strikes.

Karadzic says Gorazde is no kind of "security zone" but is a military stronghold. He said the Muslims there have a full corps of about 15,000 soldiers, as a result of which the Srpska republic (of Bosnia-Herzegovina) was forced to use a full corps in order to bring Gorazde under control, he said.

"The international community must finally state whether this is a protected zone or not," Karadzic believes. Butrus-Ghali also spoke about the redefining of Gorazde as a protected zone, "from which they are killing our people on a daily basis."

According to him, the Muslims were much in favor of the latest offensive, which they began from the ostensible "security zone of Gorazde," in order to join together a section of territory stretching from Sarajevo, via this town, to Sandzak, and later they would seek to reestablish the same system as before the offensive. [sentence as received]

"We, of course, could not permit this, and now all the villages on the right bank of the Drina are ours, and here we will form a Serb municipality of Gorazde," Karadzic said.

Karadzic insists that the way out of the crisis in Gorazde is either peace or an escalation of the war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

He confirmed again today that a political communication had been established with the UN secretary general's special envoy Yasushi Akashi and that their joint action yesterday "prevented another world war."

"It is fortunate that we were together yesterday when General Rose asked for the bombing of Gorazde again because we were allegedly endangering UNPROFOR members," Karadzic explained.

"Rose is very dangerous for Europe because he has disastrous assessments based on false reports he receives and then passes on."

Karadzic confirmed that relations with UNPROFOR are suspended until further notice, i.e., that there will be no contacts between the Srpska republic and UN military representatives.

He said that some UNPROFOR monitors had been only 500 meters away from the Serb lines near Gorazde without the knowledge of the Srpska republic army.

"If they are on Muslim positions without our knowledge then we consider them to be members of Muslim units and not any kind of observers," Karadzic said.

In his words, Gorazde is an opportunity for the Muslim forces to launch heavy offensive operations on other front lines, too, by taking advantage of this situation. [sentence as received]

"For the Muslims the most important operations have been taking place around Gorazde, but they have also mounted offensives in Kupres, Srbobran, Teslic, Ozren, and Trebava," Karadzic said. "They have even scored some minor successes but our army has managed to eradicate all of them."

The Srpska republic president also stressed that there are no hostilities as yet between units of the army of the Srpska republic and the Croat Defense Council, except in Posavina, where sporadic skirmishes have been taking place most of the time anyway.

"There is some possibility of 'the corridor' being cut by some operation from Croatia, in which case we would immediately declare our unification with the republic of Serb Krajina," Karadzic said.

He could not confirm whether NATO forces had occupied Tuzla Airport, but he said he had reports that aircraft not belonging to UNPROFOR are landing there.

Denies Capture of Gorazde

AU1604195694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Interview with Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic, by Branislav Bozic in Banja Luka on 16 April—recorded]

[Text] [Bozic] Mr. Karadzic, it was announced in Washington today that the Serbian forces had entered Gorazde?

[Karadzic] They have not entered Gorazde. I do not know what they call Gorazde, but they have not entered the town itself. We are restraining ourselves here, but as far as strategic points are concerned, almost all of them are in our hands. Washington probably needs this [information that the Serbs have entered the town] in order to launch a new attack. The Muslims are currently activating mines around Gorazde by means of remote control, in order to convince the international public that we are targeting the town itself. It looks as if UN observers, some of whom have been evacuated last night—I ordered a cease-fire which was a complete success on our side and the observers were evacuated by helicopter shortly before nightfall—[changes thought] but it seems that they left an observer or two behind in order to have cause to attack us in case they are shelled. The only reason, the only justification for an attack on Serbian positions would be our intentional endangering of the lives of their people, which has never been the case so far.

[Bozic] What is your assessment, will there be more bombings of Serbian positions?

[Karadzic] We believe that there will be, we believe so because they are very dissatisfied with the effects [of the earlier air strikes], they are highly dissatisfied with the degree of fear among the Serbs. The Serbs are not displaying any fear at all. On the contrary, we are very decisive. Both the decisiveness and the morale of both our army and the leadership are rising. Whenever we are treated unfairly, we always draw great moral energy from this. Therefore, we are resolved to protect our interests. For us, Gorazde—even if we had taken it, we would have been right—is not a safe haven but a military stronghold. We believe that they have an entire corps there, some 15,000 troops. Well, we have an entire corps there to keep an eye on them. This corps of ours was supposed to go and do its work in factories, but we have to (?keep it in position) in order to ensure that the Muslims do not attack us. That is unacceptable. The international community must be clear on this point. It either is or is not a protected area. If it is a protected area, the Muslims must hand over their weapons. If they do not hand them over to the United Nations, we will force them to hand the weapons over to us.

[Bozic] This afternoon you contacted Mr. Akashi by telephone from Banja Luka. Can you reveal a few details of this conversation?

[Karadzic] Well, he again received information that the Serbs were fiercely shelling the town center. I contacted my generals, and was told—even by those generals who have a view of the town, who can see the town—that there were explosions in the center of the town and that they resemble explosions of remotely activated mines, but that the Serbs were certainly not shelling the town. Nothing launched by the Serbs was landing on the town. Moreover, the generals told me that is was possible that this was pressure on the observers, that the observers were actually hostages of the Muslims and were forced to send reports that were dictated to them.

Krajisnik Meets Churkin in Pale

AU1604205694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Srpska republic assembly, in Pale today held long talks with Russian special envoy Vitaliy Churkin. Reporter Mirjana Kursmuk talked to Chairman Krajisnik.

[Begin recording] [Kursmuk] Today you were supposed to meet with the UN secretary general's special envoy Yasushi Akashi. However, the meeting never took place. Can you tell us what really happened?

[Krajisnik] Well, we received information that Mr. Akashi and Mr. Churkin wished to meet with us. The first meeting was set for 1130, and later for 1340. Only Mr. Churkin arrived, and not Mr. Akashi. He told us that unforeseen difficulties had arisen, and that Mr. Churkin [as heard] was called to return to Sarajevo, so that he actually turned back when he was already on his way and went back to Sarajevo [sentence as heard]. We spent almost the entire day in talks with Mr. Churkin, trying to find a solution, because the situation was very dramatic around Gorazde itself and on the international level because there was constant danger of another air attack. There were several unconfirmed reports that our tank had entered the town of Gorazde, that it was firing at Gorazde, and that this would be reason for a military intervention. Not only support for the UN Protection Force in the form of a military strike [as heard], but a military intervention which would mean a general attack. We managed to dispel this dilemma through constant contact with our General Staff and our commanders on the ground, because our tank was not in that position. We nevertheless issued orders that fire was not to be opened on the town itself. After that, pressure eased, and dilemmas regarding our attacks on Gorazde were dispelled. We are still in the midst of talks, because there is pressure for Serbs to withdraw away from Gorazde, but the Serbs cannot withdraw. Moreover, they did not advance in the course of the day. That was inaccurate information launched by the Muslims. [end recording]

UN Calls for NATO Air Strikes

AU1604164894 Paris AFP in English 1637 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 16 (AFP)—The United Nations called for NATO air strikes over the UN-declared "safe haven" of Gorazde, a spokesman said here Saturday [16 April], shortly after the downing of a NATO jet over the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave.

The NATO spokesman said the downed Harrier jump-jet, from which the pilot reportedly ejected, was shot down during a "non-offensive" operation over the enclave.

NATO Planes Strike at Gorazde

AU1604171394 Paris AFP in English 1703 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 16 (AFP)—NATO air strikes were underway around the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Gorazde on Saturday, sources close to the UN Protection Force here said.

The source, who requested anonymity, said at 6:30 p.m. (1830 GMT) British and U.S. planes were striking at Bosnian Serb forces attacking the enclave, over which a NATO jet was downed earlier in the afternoon.

NATO Denies Bombing Gorazde

AU1604175794 Paris AFP in English 1748 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 16 (AFP)—NATO airplanes were over-flying the enclave of Gorazde in Bosnia-Herzegovina but had conducted no bombing operations Saturday, a spokesman for the Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe, said here.

The NATO spokesman said at 1735 GMT: "No ordinance has been dropped."

UNPROFOR Threatens Air Strikes

AU1604193694 Paris AFP in English 1922 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 16 (AFP)— The UN Protection Force Saturday gave an ultimatum to Bosnian Serbs besieging the Moslem enclave of Gorazde, threatening air strikes if they advance further on the town, a spokesman said.

Major Rob Annink said UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi had called for NATO air support earlier in the day, and said this could be activated at any moment. "Do not shoot at the town, do not advance," the text of the ultimatum read, according to Annink.

Izetbegovic Asks Clinton for Help

LD1604224794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a letter to U.S. President Bill Clinton in which he asks him to find a way of helping the population of Gorazde.

The lives of many people and also the reputation of the United States are at stake. If force and deceit triumph, this will not only be a defeat for Bosnia, but also for many important institutions in which we have acted together. We must prevent this defeat, the letter from President Izetbegovic says.

President Izetbegovic sent this letter to the heads of state or government of Russia, France, Great Britain, Germany, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia.

Events in Gorazde—17 April

Izetbegovic Urges Gorazde To 'Hold Out'

LD1704091794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0600 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Statement on the situation in Gorazde by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, to Bosnia-Herzegovina radio and television on 16 April—recorded]

[Text] As you know, this was the latest statement we made prior to the news conference—the attack continues. We have just received a report that [word indistinct] is bombing. But we have also received a report that an order has been issued to the effect that air strikes should follow. Of course, we may again ask ourselves whether this will be the same kind of strike as we have seen hitherto. I am afraid that this is what is going to take place.

As you can see, this agreement in the UN [words indistinct] we are talking about one thing, they are talking about another—it is like that deaf telephone game—we are talking about eliminating Serb artillery and chetnik tanks and equipment, while they are talking about one chetnik tank. They always talk along the lines of there being only one tank, which they are looking for and cannot find, and so on. Anyway, as far as I know, there is an order to act.

What they are going to do, at the moment [words indistinct] but what I can say to the people of Gorazde at this really critical moment is this: I want to tell them that they are not alone, that we have been working throughout all these days and nights. Last night we adjourned our meeting at 0200. Today a series of meetings...[pauses] We have involved the world in this matter, at the moment the entire world is talking about Gorazde. Whether this will bring about any success to this town [words indistinct] I do not know yet. We talked

to President Demirel, Turkey's president, an hour ago. [passage indistinct] to save the town.

What is the most important thing, though, is that we must save ourselves in the first place. I would first call on the citizens not to succumb to panic. It seems there are elements of panic. Various reports, they are coming in every hour, every two hours, [words indistinct]. My impression is that there is panic in the town. There are cases of combat positions being abandoned. We will find out whether this was justified or not.

We know that a huge force has been unleashed on Gorazde but the town can and must hold out. We were in such a situation here [word indistinct]. Two years later we started pushing them slowly back. They can take the town with a great deal of difficulty. If its defense is organized they cannot take the town. They would have to pay dearly for each house. Consequently, I would like to call on the people of Gorazde to restore their courage [words indistinct]. Let them know that the entire world supports them and, first of all, the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina supports them.

Karadzic, Churkin Meet With Akashi

AU1704131494 Paris AFP in English 1031 GMT 17 Apr 94

[By Victoria Stegic]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, April 17 (AFP)—Special UN envoy Yasushi Akashi and Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic met Sunday [17 April] in the Serb stronghold of Pale in a bid to end the fighting around the Moslem enclave of Goradze, SRNA news agency reported.

The meeting, also attended by Russia's special envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Vitaliy Churkin, began at 0830 GMT and was aimed at looking into a proposal to review the security zone around the besieged enclave, the Bosnian Serb agency said.

Churkin in recent days has become a critical player in trying to resolve the conflict with the United States calling on Russia to use its influence with the Serbs to put a stop to an escalating crisis that has put UN personnel at risk.

Commander Guy Vinet, spokesman for the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR), earlier had said that the Serbs were still holding UN troops in the Sarajevo sector.

Their release by 0800 GMT was one of the conditions set by UNPROFOR for the resumption of peace talks in Pale. It was unclear, however, whether they had been released when the talks began.

UNPROFOR was also waiting for Serb checkpoints around Sarajevo to be reopened to allow its units to go to Gorazde to provide a buffer force between Serb and Moslem forces.

SRNA quoted the Serb military leadership as saying that Moslem units, backed by UN troops stationed in Ugorska, north of Sarajevo, had shelled Serb position early Sunday. It said the offensive stopped once the Serbs retaliated.

The agency added that fighting around Gorazde was continuing Sunday and that the Serbs had taken control of "strategic zones" north of Gorazde. [passage omitted]

The UN Protection Force has drawn up a plan to demilisarise the enclave, one of the so-called UN safe areas, which has been reduced to the town itself by the ongoing Serb offensive.

A multinational force of majority French UN troops with some Ukrainians would enforce the plan. [passage omitted]

Gorazde 'Submerged With Refugees'

AU1704133594 Paris AFP in English 1106 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Zagreb, April 17 (AFP)—Gorazde is now completely submerged in a wave of refugees who have fled Bosnian Serb shelling, a UN aid agency spokesman said here Sunday [17 April].

Peter Kessler, spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), said 25,000 civilians had taken refuge in the eastern Bosnian town since the Serb offensive on the Moslem enclave began March 29.

Speaking in French, Kessler said: "Gorazde is submerged with refugees and there is not a single free square metre of space in both public and private buildings in the town."

Most of the refugees had arrived since Friday, when the Serb offensive intensified, he said.

Both Bosnian Serb and Bosnian government media reported that the battle for the enclave—a UN-declared "safe area"—was continuing Sunday, hours after NATO came within seconds of launching an air strike there when one of its planes was downed by missile fire.

Meanwhile in Geneva, the Red Cross announced an emergency plan to ferry in fresh aid teams to ease the humanitarian crisis in the besieged enclave.

The town, which had a population of 37,000 prior to the Bosnian war, was now crammed full with more than 60,000 people, while Moslem villages outside the city walls had been left deserted in the face of the Serb advance, Kessler said.

Kessler added that Serb "snipers" had now started firing at key locations, including the town's hospital, from frontline positions no more than a few hundred metres (yards) from the town centre.

The snipers were targeting the wounded inside their hospital beds Saturday, Kessler said, adding that a doctor was injured the same day by a Serb shell which landed around 15 metres from the hospital.

According to figures released Friday, more than 240 people have died and around 1,100 been wounded during the Serb offensive. Kessler said Sunday midday that "these figures have increased greatly since then."

The four-member UNHCR team in the town has taken refuge in a bank strongroom and can only venture out after nightfall as Serb snipers have Gorazde in their sights throughout the day.

The "dramatic humanitarian situation" in Gorazde prompted the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in Geneva to launch an immediate "action plan" on behalf of the enclave.

ICRC teams in Belgrade, Pale and Sarajevo "are ready to go immediately to Gorazde to bring help to the numerous victims" of the shelling, the organisation said in a statement issued overnight Saturday.

The back-up teams could leave as soon as the necessary authorisation had been gained, the statement said.

It added that the ICRC was seeking guarantees from the warring parties that they would "respect the civilian population" and give unrestricted access to aid teams treating prisoners and evacuating the wounded, and to road convoys bringing in emergency supplies.

The ICRC currently has a 12-member team in Gorazde. [passage omitted]

NATO Planes Flying Over Gorazde

AU1704152994 Paris AFP in English 1513 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 17 (AFP)—NATO warplanes flew low over Gorazde on Sunday [17 April], a UN Protection Force spokesman said here, as Bosnian Serb tanks entered the UN-declared "safe-haven" sowing panic among the civilian population.

Lt. Colonel Richard Pernod said aircraft of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation were conducting close air support operations over the enclave.

'Horror, Hell' as Tanks Enter Gorazde

LD1704162994 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Excerpt] It is still not known how long Gorazde will live. Is it a question of minutes or hours. It is certainly not a question of days, as chetnik tank have already entered the town. The chaos has begun; horror and hell are in every place [words indistinct]. Chetniks are shooting at the people with snipers and anti-aircraft weapons. There are many casualties but their number is not known in this chaos. Unarmed people are facing chetnik tanks. NATO planes are agonizing [words indistinct]. The town center of Gorazde has become a real enclosure for children, women, and the elderly waiting for the death they have already seen. [passage omitted]

UN Spokesman on Casualties

LD1704192494 Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 1700 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The Bosnian Serb leader promised an immediate cease-fire in Gorazde following a long meeting with the UN'S special envoy. [passage omitted] RDP-1 has learned that the city is under heavy fire, tens of thousands of people fleeing. There have been more than 1,200 casualties since the beginning of the Serb offensive. The Serbs have entered Gorazde with combat vehicles, as UN spokesman Manuel Almeida told us.

[Begin recording] [Almeida] We were informed by our colleagues in Gorazde that the local people had told them that the Serbs were entering the city with tanks. [passage omitted] We did not see this because we are in shelters as the city is being bombarded. Our colleagues are in protected shelters and the local people went to see them and tell them. Also, what we can see is that the population is in a great panic. This is understandable since we estimate that during the offensive of the last few days, last two weeks, about 25,000 people have been moved within the Gorazde enclave; the great majority seeking refuge in the city of Gorazde or in its outskirts. The city does not have the conditions to receive so many people, many buildings have been destroyed.

[Announcer] How many casualties are there?

[Almeida] There are about 1,200 people dead or injured.

Izetbegovic Blames Butrus-Ghali

LD1704164894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali about the [word indistinct] situation in Gorazde. The letter reads:

The news I have received from Gorazde says that the town is in agony. For 20 days Karadzic's Serbs and units of the Yugoslav army have been attacking the town—besieged for 10 months—with unabated intensity. The strange game, in which the obvious things are not seen, loud voices are not heard, and mechanisms have become impotent, has also been going on for 20 days. The so-called protected zone has become the most unsafe area in the world.

The organization which you head proclaimed the free territory of Gorazde a UN-protected area almost a year ago. Security Council resolutions 824 and 836 refer to this protected zone, but they have remained only empty phrases. Neither you nor your personnel have done anything, or hardly anything, to use the mandate of all

those resolutions in order to protect the people of Gorazde and the credibility of the United Nations. The result is obviously tragic.

Mr. Secretary General, my people hold you responsible for this situation. This [words indistinct] is bleeding, and there is not much room for diplomatic hesitation. If Gorazde falls, I think that the feeling of moral responsibility would command you to leave the post of UN secretary general. This is the least you can do for this (?suffering) people whose two years of suffering the world has watched with so much indifference.

Krajisnik Says Muslims Downed Plane

LD1704172294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1712 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 17 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb Parliamentary Speaker Momcilo Krajisnik said on Sunday Serbs insisted that a Gorazde ceasefire must be part of a general ceasefire for all of Bosnia-Herzegovina and must entail the lifting of U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia/Montenegro).

Speaking for the local radio in Kragujevac, Serbia, Krajisnik said international mediators were insisting on a separate solution for the Moslem enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia, but the Serb side would not agree to any partial arrangements but only to a general cessation of hostilities in all of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Krajisnik said that Russian envoy Vitaliy Churkin and U.N. special envoy Yasushi Akashi had informed the Serb side that the Moslems wished to open talks on the problem, which was probably a serious offer. He added however that similar agreements reached in the past had not been honoured.

Commenting on the downing of a British NATO plane over Gorazde, Krajisnik said: "The Serbs meant to down (NATO) planes only if they flew over their territory" which was not the case on Saturday, which means that the Serbs had not fired fire at the British plane which any investigation would show [sentence as received].

The British aircraft fell in Moslem-controlled territory.

The Bosnian Serb command said it had intercepted a message from the Moslems in Gorazde to the Moslem command in Sarajevo saying that they had downed the plane and were holding the pilot who had bailed out.

The Bosnian Serb command has repeatedly warned that the Moslems in Gorazde, frustrated by the imminent defeat of their late March offensive on the surrounding Serb territories, might go so far as to down NATO planes to provoke a NATO military intervention against Bosnian Serbs.

Cease-Fire Accord Signed

LD1704174294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1732 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 17 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said on Sunday an immediate ceasefire for the Gorazde area had been agreed upon during his talks with U.N. special envoy Yasushi Akashi.

"We have agreed on the separation of forces as much as possible, maximum restraint from actions and provocations and, finally, the maximum effort in the humanitarian sphere," said Karadzic after talks with Akashi in Pale, the political and military centre of the Bosnian Serb republic.

He said U.N. helicopters would evacuate the wounded from Gorazde on Monday morning and added: "If we succeed in implementing the ceasefire and the separation of forces, we can say we are approaching peace in Gorazde."

Fighting in the Gorazde area escalated in late March, when about 10,000 Moslems from Gorazde—a U.N.-designated "safe haven" which should have been demilitarized last spring—mounted a powerful offensive on the surrounding Serb territories. The Serbs responded by launching a counteroffensive.

When the Moslems were all but defeated, the U.N. stepped in and ordered NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serb positions around Gorazde, after which the Serbs suspended all relations with the U.N. Protection Force.

Karadzic, Akashi Comment on Truce

AU1704184994 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Mirjana Kusmuk report from Pale]

[Text] [Begin recording] [Kusmuk] The meeting between the political leadership of the Srpska republic on one side, and UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali's special envoy Yasushi Akashi and Russian envoy for former Yugoslavia Vitaliy Churkin on the other side, ended in Pale today at 1700 [1500 GMT]. After the meeting, president of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic said:

[Karadzic] I wish to say that today's talks were long. Considering the crisis that we are gradually overcoming, it is not surprising that they were long and difficult, but in any case we have made some progress in overcoming the crisis, particularly regarding our relations with the United Nations and the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. Today we achieved certain progress as regards the position of UNPROFOR members on our territory. [Words indistinct] that it has still not reached all the headquarters, but it will reach them in any case. As far as Gorazde is concerned, the situation is much more complex and very difficult to resolve. We have agreed to order an immediate cease-fire, a certain disengagement

of forces in the conflict—as much as it is possible—maximal restraint regarding activities and provocations, and finally, to do the utmost that can be done in the humanitarian field. I believe that UN helicopters will fly in in the morning to evacuate the wounded and killed. If we manage to implement the cease-fire and achieve a certain disengagement of forces, then we can say that we are drawing closer to peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Kusmuk] Addressing the assembled journalists, Akashi said:

[Akashi in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] President Karadzic and I agreed that a cease-fire around Gorazde should go into effect immediately and that troops would be withdrawn from the town as soon as possible. We agreed that all sides should maximally restrain themselves from all offensive activities. In the meantime we shall review the talks and try to sign an agreement as soon as possible in order to stabilize the situation. President Karadzic agreed to an urgent evacuation of humanitarian personnel and population from Gorazde. UNPROFOR is ready to do so tomorrow morning at 0800.

[Kusmuk] At around 1730 in the presidency of the Srpska republic, informal talks continued between diplomats and the political leadership of the republic. [end recording]

Karadzic Comments on Agreement

LD1704170194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1648 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Srpska republic president Radovan Karadzic said in Pale this evening that an agreement has been reached on an immediate cease-fire, "certain separation of the forces," and a maximum of restraint from military operations in the Gorazde area.

After his talks with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, Karadzic said that if the cease-fire is observed, it could be said that "we are coming closer to peace in Gorazde."

Karadzic on 'Crisis With UN'

LD1704175994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1707 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Srpska republic [RS], said in Pale this evening that an agreement on a cease-fire in the Gorazde area with immediate effect has been reached, which indicates a possibility of "getting closer to peace" in the region.

The RS president also said that the crisis in the relations between the RS and the United Nations and the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] has been "overcome to a certain degree".

After several hours of talks with special UN envoy Yasushi Akashi, Karadzic told journalists that it has been agreed that: An immediate cease-fire be ordered in the Gorazde area, as well as "certain separation of the forces, as far as this is possible," that maximum restraint be displayed in getting involved in any activities and provocation, and that everything possible be done in the humanitarian field.

Karadzic said that UN helicopters will evacuate the wounded from Gorazde as early as tomorrow.

"If we succeed in achieving a cease-fire and certain separation of the forces we can say that we are on our way to peace in Gorazde," the RS president said.

According to the current agreement the parties in the conflict should withdraw from each other of their own accord, which should be a proof of goodwill by both sides, and then—when the conditions are ripe to guarantee safety to UNPROFOR members—some arrangement could be made to include UNPROFOR as well.

The RS president also said that the crisis in the relations with UNPROFOR and the United Nations "is being overcome to a certain degree."

"Some progress has been achieved today as regards the position of UN members in our territory. Everything has been done to enable their free movement," Karadzic said.

He stressed that this order has not yet reached some command posts, "but it will in any case reach them."

Yasushi Akashi confirmed that a cease-fire agreement with immediate effect in the Gorazde area has been reached.

"We have also agreed that the forces have to be separated as soon as possible and that everyone should refrain from provocation and offensive activities. In the meantime we will continue with dialogue in order to reach an agreement which would lead to a more stabilized situation," Akashi said.

He stressed that Karadzic agreed that an evacuation of the wounded from Gorazde will take place at 0800 tomorrow.

"I suggested to Karadzic that relations with UNPROFOR be normalized," Akashi said, adding that UNPROFOR will remain impartial and its task will remain to bring the war to an end with the help of all sides in the conflict.

Attack Continues Despite Cease-Fire

AU1704183894 Paris AFP in English 1827 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 17 (AFP)—Serb tanks were continuing to fire on the Moslem town of Gorazde, a UN "safe haven," a ham operator said Sunday, despite the

declaration earlier of an immediate ceasefire there by Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic.

Shells from Serb tanks, which rolled into the town Sunday afternoon, were still raining down on the town said the radio operator who contacted Sarajevo around 7:45 p.m. (1745 GMT).

Karadzic Blames Muslims

LD1704222294 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2105 GMT 17 Apr 94

[from the "Picture versus Picture" program]

[Excerpts] Radovan Karadzic appeared on the news bulletin of Pale Television late this evening. He already had an answer for the continued fighting in Gorazde this evening. He also said something interesting about future cooperation between the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] and the so-called Srpska republic.

[Begin recording] [Karadzic] Unfortunately, we have not managed to establish a cease-fire. Every time we stop firing, the Muslim side thinks that is due to our weakness, and launches a heavy attack which, of course, takes a toll in life. That is very bad tactics.

For example, we withdrew our artillery and tanks toward Ustipraca and Kopaci, 3 km away from the bridge leading to the hospital in Gorazde. However, when we withdrew, the Muslims again attacked us on that part of our line, trying to take advantage of our withdrawal. Consequently, our tanks returned. They are being pulled out now, under the condition that the Muslim side does not launch any more attacks. Akashi's warning applies to them too. [passage omitted]

UNPROFOR cannot deploy forces on the territory of the Srpska republic, except where the leadership allows them to, along the frontlines, as in Sarajevo. This is a decision passed by our people's assembly, and only the assembly can change it.

[Pale TV announcer] And what if someone comes upon UNPROFOR representatives, for example, somewhere on [Mount] Romanija, which has nothing to do with the frontline?

[Karadzic] They should not be there because, if they cross through the Srpska republic—we gave them permission to move freely through our territory, which is now suspended, but we will review that decision—they have to stick to the route granted to them. If they leave the agreed route, we will provide UNPROFOR with a military escort, and they will not be allowed to go off the agreed route. We have now decided that UNCHR and Red Cross convoys are not to be escorted by UNPROFOR, but by our army. The UNHCR and the Red Cross have accepted that. Foreign military forces will therefore have their movement scaled down in our territory. If we allow a convoy to pass through, it will have to stick to the route. [end recording]

Events in Gorazde—18 April

Serbs Say Muslims Firing on Serb Lines

LD1804090294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0757 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Cajnice, 18 Apr (TANJUG)—The command of the Herzegovina Corps [of the Srpska army] announced this morning that, following yesterday's cease-fire on the Gorazde battlefield, Serb forces stopped advancing toward Gorazde.

However, following a brief lull overnight, the Muslims in Gorazde started opening sniper and antiaircraft fire on the Serb lines, and the fire is being stepped up.

The command of the Serb forces issued sharp warnings that if the fire does not stop immediately it will respond with all available weapons. [passage omitted]

After they captured Biserna hill above Gorazde yesterday, the Herzegovina Corps' fighters liberated the whole of the right bank of the River Drina. The last Muslim soldiers fled yesterday afternoon across bridges in Gorazde to the left bank.

The Serb forces' frontline is currently in the town itself, on the right bank of the River Drina. Serb units yesterday advanced considerably from the direction of Kopaci, north of Gorazde, and reached the town's suburbs.

A considerable chunk of territory on the left bank of the Drina was also liberated yesterday. The areas of Jelah, Konjbaba, and Sjedokosa are now under Serb control.

In addition to the central town area, the Muslims control the area on the left bank of the River Drina, 7 or 8 kms toward Foca.

'Chaos' as Serb Circle Tightens

AU1804091494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Report by Enes Musovic]

[Text] The residents of Gorazde spent the worst night of their lives last night, most of them in the streets as there is not enough accommodation for all those who barely managed to save their lives from the chetnik attack on the town's suburbs and the town itself yesterday. The town hospital also lacks accommodation.

There is an increasing number of wounded. In this chaos no one knows their exact number, nor the number of those killed. It is only known that there are very many. Owing to the close proximity of the chetniks to the city center, those (?killed) cannot be evacuated nor buried, nor is it possible to take the wounded to hospital.

So, Gorazde is dying by itself in the worst possible pain before the very eyes of the entire international public. [Words indistinct] is a lie that the UN yesterday sent 336

troops, who have allegedly stopped the chetniks in their bloody advance toward the center of the town. The purpose of that information was only to enable the chetniks to gain time to kill, conquer, destroy, and torch in peace. Which they did and are still doing in the most brutal way.

They are hunting down the (?confused) people with snipers from the (?nearby) hills. In the general chaos that reigns in [word indistinct] streets, the people do not know what to do nor (?where to go). The chetniks have been killing these people with bombs, snipers, and anti-aircraft weapons. They are killing them this morning, too.

The chetniks are receiving tacit support from the UN for these crimes. Because of these crimes, Mr. Akashi is daily going to the criminals in Pale to congratulate them on killing children, women, and the elderly. At the same time he is saying that the conditions were not ripe for air strikes against the murders of these civilians.

The situation this morning is the same as yesterday, a shade worse, because the town is full, brimming with new refugees who have come from the town's closest suburbs. The chetniks are continuing to strangle Gorazde. Gorazde's streets are being fired on by snipers, and with [M-]84's, anti-aircraft machine guns, tanks, and even mortars. The encirclement of the city center is becoming tighter and tighter. NATO aircraft are still overflying the bloody Gorazde skies, not to help the people of Gorazde, but to film the last moments of the life of these people.

Gorazde 'Floating in Blood'

AU1804111894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Report by Mustafa Kurotovic from Gorazde]

[Text] The chetniks have launched an even fiercer offensive on this town. The chetniks showered Gorazde with hundreds of artillery projectiles this morning. The war hospital in the city center is also being targeted. Here is the latest report from Gorazde:

[Kurtovic] According to the information of the East Bosnian Operations Group of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the information organs of the Gorazde Security Center, the chetniks have launched a fierce offensive aimed at taking Gorazde as a whole. The cries of the tens of thousands of people moving in the central part of the town, who wait for shells and snipers and who give their lives for the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, are in vain. Between 0800 and 1100 alone, thousands of shells landed on the war hospital, civilian houses, Luke, Bare, [words indistinct]. In these suburbs, the situation is such that it is impossible to transfer the wounded (?to) the war hospital. The dead in this town are no longer counted by anyone because Gorazde has been left to its own defenders, its heroes. Gorazde will endure before the eyes of all international institutions. To the Security Council—you should be ashamed of yourself for the thousands of causalities in this town. What is the purpose of your existence as the largest international organization in saving victims.

Gentlemen, all appeals from this town have been in vain. Only our correspondents are still reporting, warning you again about the extremely critical and dramatic situation in Gorazde. Gentlemen, help the residents of Gorazde, which is floating in blood, which is being drawn in the pain of the hundreds of wounded and killed. Help this town while there are still live people in it.

This is Mustafa Kurtovic reporting for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television from the Press Center of the Gorazde District.

Officials Appeal to Citizens To Resist

AU1804111194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Text] As a result of the extremely difficult and dramatic situation in Gorazde, the residents of this town were addressed by Rijad Rastic, president of the Gorazde District, and Esad Ohranovic, president of the Executive Council.

[Begin Rastic recording] I, Rijad Rasic, president of the Gorazde District, appeal to all those who live in Gorazde not to cause panic through their behavior, that all those capable of fighting to report to their nearest unit, to put old people, women and children in safe places to avoid shells, and to avoid unnecessary walking around.

Check all the information that your receive in several places. Do not listen to panic and those who do not think well of our people. You finally know [words indistinct] let down. The courageous defenders are successfully doing everything to save the people from the chetniks. Help our defenders as much as you can. God is protecting Gorazde. [end recording]

[Begin Ohranovic recording] There is only death in Gorazde. There is no one to stop this death and horror. Fighting is taking place around the hospital itself. In the past hour, hundreds of shells have landed on the town. The hospital, the International Red Cross, and collective accommodation are all being targeted. We demand once again that a stop be put to this. I do not know whether I will have the opportunity to repeat this appeal.

I appeal to the defenders of Gorazde and the residents of Gorazde to devote everything to the service of defense. Do not fall for rumors and disinformation. The town must be defended. Do not forget the dead and wounded. Do not forget your co-fighters without arms and legs. It is better to die than be taken into the hands of the enemy alive. Do everything possible to prevent the enemy from entering the town and carrying out an unprecedented slaughter. I know that we can and want do it. [end recording]

UN Evacuates Remaining Soldiers

AU1804113494 Paris AFP in English 1111 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 18 (AFP)—The United Nations pulled the last of its soldiers out of the Moslem enclave of Gorazde overnight Sunday to Monday [17-18 April], a French military source said Monday.

Five UN observers were evacuated by helicopter along with seven forward ground controllers, used to direct NATO warplanes to their ground targets.

Hospital, Red Cross Hit

AU1804082194 Paris AFP in English 0810 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Text] Geneva, April 18 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs resumed intensive shelling Monday [18 April] on the Moslem enclave of Gorazde in eastern Bosnia, hitting the hospital roof and Red Cross centre, a UN spokeswoman said here.

"The night was quiet, but gunfire started again this morning," said Sylvana Foa, spokeswoman for the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. A shell was falling every 20 seconds, she said.

"The hospital was hit on the roof," she said, adding that the International Committee of the Red Cross centre in the town was also hit.

Situation 'Increasingly Dramatic'

AU1804140194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Report by Enes Musovic from Gorazde]

[Text] The inferno in Gorazde is growing bigger and bigger. The chetniks from the nearby hills are firing more and more on the city center. After they directly hit the hospital crammed with the wounded with howitzers and tanks this morning, the chetniks fired at the windows and walls of this medical institution with anti-aircraft machine guns and anti-aircraft guns from Biserna and (?Mare).

Dozens of civilians have been killed on the left bank of the Drina River, in the very center of the town. The wounded cannot be taken to the medical center where they need urgent medical treatment, because the bridges in this town are subjected to constant and strong sniper fire.

NATO aircraft, which overflew this volcanic crater on several occasions, could see a real hell in Gorazde. Smoke [words indistinct] is everywhere. There is smoke from burning village houses that were abandoned yesterday and today by their owners, who were fleeing in front of the chetniks to save their lives. In Gorazde, in the town itself, there is real chaos, a confusion in which no one knows what is going on. Confused people with tears in their eyes do not believe what is happening. They do not understand that they were handed over to the chetniks, that they were sold in the name of some, to them, unknown and incomprehensible policy. What they do understand is that they are a constant, open target for the chetniks in the hills, that the chetniks are constantly killing them, that their murders are at the gate of Gorazde, and that they are facing a bloody party if they enter the town.

The defenders of Gorazde are investing superhuman efforts to save the lives of the 60,000 people in this town. Nevertheless, the situation here is increasingly dramatic. It has become more dramatic with the total blockade of movement through the town and with the reinforcement of the chetnik forces on all hills around the completely surrounded Gorazde.

Life is here no longer counted in hours. Every minute of life here represents an exceptional gain. Human life here is the cheapest commodity in the world. If they do not get killed by bombs, these people face a collective death from starvation because humanitarian convoys for Gorazde do not exist at all. The last convoy with food arrived in this town on 22 March this year.

This is Enes Musovic reporting from the Press Center of the Gorazde District.

Buha Threatens 'World War'

AU1804140694 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 18 Apr 94 p 137

[Interview with Srpska foreign minister Aleksa Buha by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "The Whole World Does Not Care"]

[Text] [DER SPIEGEL] During the weekend, the Serbs had their troops advance further toward Gorazde. UN soldiers abandoned the city as untenable. Did you take new NATO attacks into account?

[Buha] We are at a turning point, either toward peace or toward a dramatic escalation of this war. I have the impression that NATO is, meanwhile, irritated at its spirit of adventure. However, should it continue its bombardments, a world war will begin.

[DER SPIEGEL] Serbia against the rest of the world?

[Buha] This might develop into an uncontrollable avalanche. We are only a ball in the game of the international community.

[DER SPIEGEL] However, it was your decision to fire at the UN protection zone of Gorazde.

[Buha] Gorazde is not a protection zone for us—the inhabitants were neither disarmed nor have the borders of this zone been fixed.

[DER SPIEGEL] This is not true. Even Russian President Boris Yeltsin accused the Serbs of aggression.

[Buha] Gorazde has outskirts with a Serbian population. If the Muslims attack them, we will, of course, strike back. These are counterattacks.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why did you prohibit UN General Rose and foreign journalists from convincing themselves of the situation on the spot?

[Buha] We only warned General Rose against the danger. Foreign journalists have no business there.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your artillery is also shelling the protection zone of Tuzla again.

[Buha] Only the airport, which, as agreed upon, may only be used for humanitarian help. The packets have to be controlled by the Russians. None of these conditions was fulfilled; therefore, we bombed it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do the Serbs want to oust the blue helmets from Bosnia?

[Buha] If the United Nations orders further bombardments, our people will see to it themselves.

[DER SPIEGEL] Why did you place more than 200 blue helmets as hostages under house arrest?

[Buha] It is better that we protect them, instead of leaving them to the rage of our people.

[DER SPIEGEL] Serbian leader Radovan Karadzic has called for the withdrawal of Western mediators from the peace talks on Bosnia. Who is to take over this task?

[Buha] If the international community withdraws Lord Owen and Stoltenberg, we will determine our new, impartial mediators—Russians, Japanese, Chinese, Indians, and—you will be surprised—Germans.

[DER SPIEGEL] I beg your pardon? Which Germans are you thinking of?

[Buha] Peter Glotz, Hans Modrow, Graf Lambsdorff, retired General Schmueckle. I hope very much for an improvement of the relations between Germans and Serbs.

[DER SPIEGEL] Your only hope is currently based on the Russians. Did Yeltsin's special envoy Churkin encourage you to continue your fight for the independent Serbian state during his mediation last week?

[Buha] No, just like the whole world, the Russians do not care about the price that we have to pay. They only want peace quickly. I also do not believe that Yeltsin would risk a war for a greater Serbia. However, since the Muslims and Croats were able to conclude a federation without us, we have the same right to a Serbian state and its international recognition. The inclusion of the Srpska republic in Bosnia in this Muslim-Croatian federation is completely out of the question.

Karadzic: Serb Forces To Withdraw

LD1804144094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1418 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 18 Apr (TANJUG)—The office of president of the Srpska republic, Radovan Karadzic, stated today that—following yesterday's meeting with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali's special envoy Yasushi Akashi and his appeal—the authorities of the Srpska republic have decided, as a sign of good will, to immediately carry out or help in carrying out the following:

1. Serb forces will remain outside a three-kilometer exclusion zone, on the left bank of the Drina River near Gorazde, and will agree to the immediate deployment of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] troops.

2. Medical aid and the evacuation of the wounded and sick from Gorazde and other locations.

3. UN High Commissioner for Refugees, International Committee of the Red Cross and Handicap International may continue their humanitarian convoys.

4. Freedom of movement for all humanitarian workers on the entire territory of the Srpska republic.

5. Police units of the Srpska republic will escort all convoys, it is said in the statement released by the office of the president of the Srpska republic.

Promises To Withdraw Artillery

AU1804151994 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Mirjana Kuzma report]

[Text] This afternoon, president of the Srpska republic Radovan Karadzic met suddenly and unexpectedly with the chief of the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] Civilian Sector (Viktor Andreeyev) in Pale.

During the meeting, Karadzic and (Andreeyev) tried to harmonize the agreement reached yesterday at the meeting of the Srpska republic political leadership with UN special envoy to the former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi. The organs of the Srpska republic promised to realize the agreement on the withdrawal of the Serbian artillery from the 3 km zone in the sector of Gorazde on the left bank of the Drina River where UNPROFOR forces will subsequently be deployed.

The political and military leadership of the Srpska republic will assist in the evacuation of all injured and sick from Gorazde and other settlements, while convoys of all international humanitarian organizations will be guaranteed a safe passage thought the Serbian territories in the company of the Srpska republic police.

Gorazde 'Condemned to Death' by UN

AU1804160894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Excerpt] In the organization of the Ministry for Information, a Sarajevo-Gorazde radio bridge was established today for domestic and foreign reporters. Mediha Colo has compiled a report based on the information collected this way.

[Colo] The reporters were acquainted with the situation in Gorazde this afternoon by Esad Ohranovic, chairman of the Gorazde assembly:

[Ohranovic] Gorazde is going through the worst day since the offensive started. The town is disappearing from the face of the earth. I have no words to describe what is happening here today. It is impossible to reach the killed and the wounded, so we are unable to give the exact number. The Gorazde citizens that are still alive are wondering whether they have been condemned to death by the international community. One of the facts that speak to that effect is that General Rose's monitors have fled Gorazde without our knowledge. I believe that this fact confirms the full ruthlessness of the international community.

[Colo] The foreign reporters insisted on speaking with one of the representatives of the international institutions that have remained in Gorazde, but Esad Ohranovic said:

[Ohranovic] They do not want to speak to reporters or the international community. They told us that they were forbidden to do so.

[Colo] One of the reporters' questions referred to today's situation in the Gorazde war hospital.

[Ohranovic] The hospital is being shelled at the moment from three directions, so one cannot really count the number of shells landing on the hospital. All the surrounding buildings, residential areas are on fire. This must be the worst day from the beginning of the offensive. One can no longer count the number of shells landing.

[Colo] The tanks are in the town, Mr. Ohranovic said. Asked how many there were, he said:

[Ohranovic] It is hard to say, but there are somewhere between 20 to 40 tanks, it depends on the shelling of the town.

[Colo] How far away are they from the center?

[Ohranovic] Depends, from 500 to 600 meters.

[Colo] We know you have been unable to tell us so far, but can you say now where the front line is?

[Ohranovic] It is in the town itself. From the direction of Ustipraca, that is some 100 meters from the petrol station, and [words indistinct] from the hospital, and on the right side—you probably know Gorazde—in the direction of Cajnice, that is around the bus station. [passage omitted]

Serbs Agree To 'Immediate' Cease-Fire

AU1804153094 Paris AFP in English 1521 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 18 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb authorities have agreed to an "immediate" ceasefire at Gorazde, an UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] spokesman said here Monday.

The ceasefire was due to come into effect early Monday afternoon, said UN Protection Force spokesman Eric Chaperon.

UNPROFOR Spokesman Discusses Gorazde

LD1704194794 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 1800 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] [Anchor-man Henri Masure] Lieutenant-Colonel Pernod, UNPROFOR spokesman is live with us from Sarajevo. Good evening.

[Pernod] Good evening.

[Masure] Correspondent Francois Cornet repeated a moment ago that there are 336 UN soldiers belonging to the intervention force who are now ready to go to Gorazde. Why are they not going there?

[Pernod] Actually, I believe that things are quite simple. We do have a detachment from the Sarajevo sector which is to go to Gorazde. We are awaiting the order for their departure. This order will come only when the negotiations under way are over, and I believe that, for the moment, we are ready and waiting. Negotiations are under way and I believe that it will add to the confusion if I gave information that may not be accurate.

[Masure] Are 336 men sufficient when we know how strong the forces in Gorazde are? There is talk of 7,000 Serb fighters.

[Pernod] Listen, anyway, this detachment has been put together. We decided that it was amply sufficient to carry out the mission that was set at the beginning. It was created to carry out a mission of intervention and, for the time being, the command has decided that it was enough, given the elements we have.

[Masure] You are in Sarajevo yourself. UN soldiers have been the victims of a whole series of provocations on the part of the Serbs recently. Several dozen of them were held, if I may put it this way. Is there any sign of detente this evening in your difficult relations with the Bosnian Serbs?

[Pernod] If you like, tension has indeed stepped up dramatically since the air strikes last Sunday and Monday. As you know—and it has been said—some places where weapons are being kept were closed. Our traffic was subjected to major hindrances. I can tell you, for example, that this tension has decreased dramatically today. For instance, the various points for the collection of weapons were resupplied with vehicles by road today. As you can see, things are much less tense. I think that the situation is less tense because, on the one hand, we did not respond to the provocations made on the Serb side, and this is mainly thanks to the professional approach and the sang-froid of the people on the ground who are behaving in an exemplary manner.

[Masure] Thank you very much, Lieutenant Colonel Pernod, speaking live to us from Sarajevo.

Events in Sarajevo—15 April

UN Reports Serb Withdrawal From Sites

AU1504185594 Paris AFP in English 1731 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 15 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces have withdrawn from all weapons collection points which they had surrounded in the heavy arms exclusion zone around Sarajevo, a UN Protection Force spokesman said Friday [15 April].

But UN troops had still not been allowed to go free, UNPROFOR's Captain Eric Chaperon said, adding that there was still no news of Canadian and French UN troops still being held.

Chaperon said tension had lowered in the area, where Bosnian Serb forces have harassed UN forces in recent days since NATO air strikes against the Moslem enclave of Gorazde.

On Thursday the Serb forces tried to seize heavy weapons grouped under UNPROFOR control following a February 9 ultimatum for them to withdraw from the exclusion zone around Sarajevo.

Chaperon said Friday that reports indicated there was a "relaxed atmosphere" at weapons collection sites after the Bosnian Serb withdrawal. He said UN forces were no longer on full alert.

The Bosnian Serbs, angry at the NATO strikes on Gorazde, had been threatening a French battalion at Krivoglavci, to the northwest of the Bosnian capital, with a tank.

The report came as UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi and mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg held face-to-face talks with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic at his Pale headquarters.

The talks, the first since the crisis sparked by the Gorazde strikes, were reportedly aimed at discussing a cease-fire.

Serbs Deploy Artillery Around City

AU1504153194

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1300 GMT on 15 April carries within its regular 42-minute newscast several reports on the combat situation in the republic.

Gorazde correspondent Enes Musovic reports that "the encirclement around Gorazde is becoming increasingly tighter and stronger. Gorazde is literally drowning its own blood, suffering, and pain. Crushing everything before them, the chetniks are mercilessly advancing on the town. The situation in the town is so bad that it cannot get worse. A river of surviving refugees from the surrounding villages this morning continued to flow into the almost destroyed and overcrowded Gorazde."

Musovic also says that the "chetniks are at the very gates of the town. On their way to the town so far, in only 18 days of this unprecedented offensive they have killed 208 and wounded 840 residents of Gorazde. The survivors of Gorazde are warning U.S. President Bill Clinton and UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to take new energetic measures and urgently stop the chetnik hordes, which are at the very gates of Gorazde, at the last minute. If they do not take urgent measures, it will be too late for the residents of this town."

According to Brcko correspondents Hamiz Deronjic and Nijaz Salihovic, "on the fifth consecutive day of their attacks, the enemy is using all available weapons: snipers, machine guns, and 122-mm and 155-mm howitzers. The aggressor has fired hundreds of artillery and tank shells at the positions of the 108th Motorized and the 108th Infantry Brcko Brigades. Vranovaca and the central part of Odora are being subjected to particularly heavy shelling. The situation in Boderiste is the worst. The aggressor has been carrying out combined artillery, tank, and infantry attacks there since about 0700."

Reporting that the army had not suffered any casualties, the correspondents report that "at 0850 this morning, the Malutka operators of the legendary 108th Motorized Brigade destroyed a chetnik tank at [words indistinct], in front of the positions of the 108th Infantry Brigade. This is the third tank that the aggressor has lost, together with its crew, on the Brcko front in the last 24 hours."

According to Bihac correspondent Mirza Sadikovic, "Karadzic's terrorists have not stopped attacking Buzim and the surrounding area today. They are shelling civilian houses and the defenders. The chetniks have been attacking them since 9 April. This (?region) has also been attacked from the other side, from behind, by Abdic's betraying falangists, who are fiercely attacking Todorovo, [word indistinct], Pecingrad, Krivaja, and Liskovac."

From Sarajevo a correspondent reports that the "chetniks today continued their attacks with small arms in the Sarajevo area, which began last night. Provocations took place in several locations, where the defense lines of the town came under attack. Shots were fired at the very center, Marijin Dvor, where an UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] vehicle was parked, from direction of Sljivik. This resulted in the wounding of two civilians at about noon. The passage of the street cars was blocked, too."

The correspondent concludes his report by saying that the "chetniks are preparing to renew artillery attacks on the town. They have been seen bringing up heavy weapons, ammunition, and troops to almost all the artillery positions around Sarajevo for hours. The observers and UNPROFOR appear to be powerless to stop this behavior by the aggressor and we therefore warn the citizens to take the warnings seriously about precautionary measures and self-protection."

Gracanica correspondent Ezudin Durakovic reports that the "chetniks have been using all their artillery since early this morning to attack mainly civilian targets in Lukavica, Malesici, Rijeka, and Miricina from the well-known chetnik strongholds of Paleznica, (Besanj), Sjemina,

Kojica, and Porecina. The enemy fired over 200 shells of various calibers within a very short period of time. One woman and one child were killed. Six others were wounded and the material damage is substantial."

Events in Sarajevo—16 April

UN Chief's Plane Fired On at Airport

LD1604154794 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] We have just received the following report: Fire was opened on an aircraft carrying General Bertrand de Lapresle, commander for the area of the former Yugoslavia as it was landing at Sarajevo airport, Richard Pernod, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] spokesman in Sarajevo has said.

Fire was opened from infantry weapons at the west end of the runway near a zone controlled by forces of the Bosnian Serbs, Pernod said and added that one of the wings had been hit. The Blue Helmets at the airport were immediately placed on high alert. They are expected to return soon to their regular level of readiness, the officer explained.

Events in Sarajevo—17 April

British Soldier Killed at Checkpoint

LD1704122094 London PRESS ASSOCIATION in English 1157 GMT 17 Apr 94

[By Gavin Cordon]

[Excerpt] An off-duty British soldier serving with the United Nations has been shot dead in Sarajevo, the UN said today.

A spokesman for the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] in the Bosnian capital told Reuters the man, who was believed to be in civilian clothing, was killed at a checkpoint manned by the mainly Muslim Bosnian government army.

The incident, which happened early today, is being investigated by UNPROFOR and the Bosnian military police. A Ministry of Defence spokesman said they were seeking further details.

According to a BBC report, Bosnian forces manning the checkpoint opened fire after the soldier failed to stop. He reportedly started to run and was hit in the head.

He is the fourth British soldier to die while serving with the UN in Bosnia. A British Sea Harrier pilot ejected safely after Serb forces shot down the helicopter over the besieged town of Gorazde yesterday, and a British SAS man acting as a forward observer in the town for UN aircraft was killed and a second injured on Friday. [passage omitted]

British Troops Launch Mortars

AU1704125494 Paris AFP in English 1130 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, April 17 (AFP)—British UN forces launched mortars against Bosnian Serb positions for the first time Sunday, a UN spokesman said here, hours after a British officer was shot dead in Sarajevo in what was believed to be an accident.

The British troops fired four mortars from a Warrior tank and three flares after coming under attack at around 4:50 a.m. (0250 GMT) Sunday, said United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Major Rob Annink.

The UN peacekeepers' position near Kobilja Glava, around 10 kilometres (six miles) northwest of the Bosnian capital, was targeted by Bosnian Serb machinegun fire and four grenades, Annink said.

The UN troops had been "very, very vulnerable," caught in a "position lower than the position from where they were attacked," and hence had fired back, Annink said.

The resulting exchange was "very heavy," he said, but added that no casualties were reported.

Earlier Sunday UNPROFOR reported that a British UN officer died of a gunshot to the head late Saturday night while walking through Sarajevo in civilian clothes.

He was killed after the city's 10:00 p.m. (2000 GMT) curfew came into effect as local police checked his identity while he was leaving a Sarajevo cafe, UNPROFOR officials said.

They identified the officer's body at the city's Kosevo hospital.

The officials said they believed the death of the officer was accidental.

Swedish UN Convoy Released by Serbs

LD1704163794 Stockholm Radio Sweden in Swedish 1545 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] We have just learned that the Swedish UN convoy, which has been held by Bosnian Serb forces outside Sarajevo for a week, has been released. The Swedish UN soldiers and their vehicles have left Bosnian Serb territory on their way to Kiseljak, northwest of Sarajevo, Lars Eliasson, the chief of staff in Tuzla, told TT [Swedish News Agency].

Muslims Capture Summit, TV Relay

LD1704195794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1914 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Muslim units carried out a military operation today, capturing the summit of Mount Bjelasnica and the TV relay facility on the summit, the information service of the Srpska republic army's main headquarters said this evening.

"As we have already informed the public, UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] units which were deployed on Mount Igman and Mount Bjelasnica have been withdrawing to Hrasnica and Sarajevo airport over the last few days, thus violating the cease-fire agreement and leaving the area they controlled to Muslim forces, the statement says. It adds that some UNPROFOR troops stayed on to control certain positions, including the summit of Mount Bjelasnica and its TV relay facility.

"However, the Muslim forces today carried out a military operation and captured the summit of Mount Bjelasnica and the TV relay," the statement of the main headquarters of the Srpska republic army says. Thus, the area handed over by the Srpska republic army to UNPROFOR under the terms of the cease-fire agreement has been seized by members of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina army. This creates conditions for offensive operations toward Trnovo and Rogoj, as well as major offensive operations to split and capture the Serb-held parts of Sarajevo. It is certain that the Muslims and UNPROFOR have used deceit to violate the terms of the peace agreement.

"Nothing can be said with certainty about the fate of UNPROFOR members who stayed on at the summit of Mount Bjelasnica until the violent act committed by the Muslims," the statement issued by the information service of the main headquarters of the Srpska republic army says in conclusion.

Capture Serb-Held Villages

LD1704180694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Soldiers from the 1st Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army carried out a successful military operation today by liberating the Nisici plateau, north of Sarajevo, and a part of the occupied territory between Sarajevo and Olovo. Velid Djindo reporting from Olovo.

[Djindo] The aggressor's plan, named Zvijezda 94, was thwarted by a well-planned and coordinated operation by units from the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army's 1st Corps. More important positions have been liberated in a brilliant counterattack and a 10-kilometer-wide part of the front line was pushed between 1 and 5 kilometers forward.

Our units have captured the villages of Milovac, Dovorine, Orahak, Karacici, Dalja, Brda, Zicki, and Citlucki Zalik as well as the Bukva, Kosijenci, Mali Hum, and Veliki Hum hills. New areas are being captured. Our soldiers have seized large quantities of weapons, ammunition, and military equipment and the enemy suffered considerable losses in manpower. [passage omitted]

Muslim Troops Leave Sarajevo for Gorazde

LD1704132294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1227 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Zvornik, Bratunac, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—Muslim military engineers have continued work in the Sarajevo area, especially in Sokolje and Mojmilo, in order to get close to the Serb defense lines, Srpska republic army [VRS] sources have told a TANJUG correspondent.

Serb military sources are saying that the pull-out of Muslim units and military equipment from Sarajevo has continued via a tunnel underneath Sarajevo airport and on board lorries across the runway, before the very eyes of UN peacekeepers.

The Serb military sources are also saying that, once out of Sarajevo, Muslim units are setting off in the direction of Hrasnica and Mount Igman in an attempt to link up in force with the area around Gorazde. The VRS are foiling all these attempts, while Muslim soldiers, who surrendered to the Serb side upon leaving Sarajevo, are talking about an "extremely low morale among Muslim formations" which are heading toward Gorazde, because "a vast majority do not want to take part in these senseless actions," the VRS sources explain.

Events in Sarajevo—18 April

Serbs Fire Mortars at Suburbs

AU1804113594 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Text] The chetniks have continued to violate the cease-fire in the Sarajevo region throughout the night and this morning. Last night, one shell landed on Dobrinja, one 80-mm mortar shell on the (?airport), and five mortar shells on Vis. In addition to the usual provocations with small arms and hand grenades, the chetniks also carried out a subversive action last night, but without much success. One chetnik was (?killed).

'Urgent Review' by UNPROFOR of Operations

AU1704132794 Paris AFP in English 0159 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Zagreb, April 17 (AFP)—The United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR], struggling to contain Serb-Moslem fighting in eastern Bosnia, must now choose either to pull out of the former Yugoslav republic or to press for more troops and a redefined mandate, a UN spokesman said here Saturday [16 April].

Michael Williams was speaking to reporters as UN special envoy Yasushi Akashi dislcosed in a statement in Sarajevo that UN officials had begun an "urgent review" of UNPROFOR operations in light of the deteriorating situation in Gorazde.

The mainly Moslem enclave in eastern Bosnia is a UN-declared safe haven but is currently under siege by Bosnian Serb forces.

"The Gorazde crisis has brought us to an impasse," Williams said.

He argued that UNPROFOR had three options before it: "a pullout from Bosnia, a completely new role and mandate with far greater resources in terms of troops, ... or total compliance by Bosnian Serb authorities (with UN orders)."

Williams stressed that UNPROFOR's operation had been rendered "completely inadequate" because of a refusal by Bosnian Serbs to cooperate and stressed that UN troops have not been assigned an offensive military role.

He explained that Akashi is only entitled to authorize the limited use of close air support by one or two NATO planes on a precise target—as was the case Saturday when British aircraft were ordered to attack a Serb tank in Gorazde.

In the event, no strikes took place because of bad weather and one of the planes was shot down, its pilot ejecting safely.

Williams said Akashi cannot order a general air operation on an entire zone, as such authorization must come from UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

There are currently 17 UN military and civilian personnel in Gorazde, the UN spokesman said.

UNPROFOR strength in all of former Yugoslavia today stands at 30,000 troops, most of whom are serving in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia.

The UN Security Council on March 31 approved an increase of 3,500 soldiers for UNPROFOR after the United States objected to plans to boost force strength by 10,000 men.

NATO Planes Chase Serb MiG-21 Over Travnik

LD1604212794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Report by Ahmet Begicevic for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television from Travnik]

[Text] A general alert was sounded in Travnik this evening because the aggressor fired several tank shells at the town from the foothills of Mount Vlasic.

A child was wounded by shrapnel and, at the same time, an artillery attack was launched on the first defense lines in Turbe, a Muslim-held town west of Travnik.

At dusk the inhabitants of Travnik witnessed how NATO aircraft chased after a Serb plane that had suddenly appeared in our country's airspace, flying at a low altitude. According to eye-witness accounts, it is most likely that this was a MiG-21 plane which acrobatically fled toward Banja Luka in panic after the NATO planes appeared. Due to low clouds we are not able to inform you about the epilogue of this close air encounter, but we can say that the (?NATO) air force was active above central Bosnia for almost one hour, which is an unusually long period and is a sign that something indeed took place in the sky.

Large-Scale Reprisals by NATO 'Unlikely'

AU1504165094 Paris AFP in English 1625 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Brussels, April 15 (AFP)—Large-scale military action by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation in Bosnia-Herzegovina seems unlikely unless there is another massive Serb atrocity there, a NATO source said here Friday [15 April].

He was reacting to a series of Serb provocations against the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia since U.S. warplanes launched two small attacks on Serb positions outside the Moslem enclave of Gorazde last Sunday [10 April] and Monday [11 April].

The public Western response to the Serb provocations has been low-key, with diplomatic pressure taking precedence over military threats.

The NATO source said: "I think there is a mood of caution and hesitancy.... My hope is that there will be a cooling-off period.... We on our part are not going to be doing anything to escalate the situation."

Insisting on being identified only as a NATO source, he discounted any quick repetition of a February ultimatum by the U.S.-led alliance that Serb artillery around Sarajevo would be bombed unless it was withdrawn.

The source said such action was unlikely unless there was some atrocity which triggered a "welling up of emotion" on the scale of the shell which landed on a Sarajevo market-place in February and killed 66 people.

The atrocity motivated the ultimatum, which is credited with forcing the Serbs to relax their artillery siege of Sarajevo, and giving impetus to a new U.S.-Russian thrust towards a peace settlement in Bosnia which has since stalled.

Any more such ultimatums, or attacks beyond surgical strikes to protect UN peacekeepers, would need fresh authority from the UN Security Council and NATO.

Within the UN, Russia is hostile to such an escalation, as is Greece within NATO. Both countries have traditional links with Serbia.

The Russian Foreign Ministry criticised this week's U.S. air attacks outside Gorazde, saying that they had "considerably worsened" the chances for peace and objecting that Moscow had not been consulted first.

Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev said in Moscow Friday that he was against Russia signing up to NATO's "Partnership for Peace" programme of military cooperation with the former communist bloc.

NATO had hoped that Moscow would join the partnership this month, becoming the 15th country to do so since January.

Grachev said "we had the impression that our partners are acting behind our back"—a clear expression of anger at the U.S. air attacks.

Since February, NATO threats in Bosnia have been restricted to warnings that Serb forces threatening the safety of UN personnel would be bombed.

The U.S. air attacks on Sunday and Monday, the first fulfilment of the threat, aimed officially at stopping Serb shelling of Gorazde, a UN-protected "safe area," because it placed eight UN peacekeepers there in danger.

They hit a small command post and four vehicles. The Bosnian Serbs said two male nurses had been killed.

In response, the Bosnian Serbs swooped on scores of UN peacekeepers around Bosnia, keeping them immobile and virtual hostages, shooting at some and abducting others.

They stepped up the shelling of Gorazde, fired on other Moslem areas including the UN-controlled airport at Tuzla, and tried to seize two UN-guarded weapons stockpiles at Sarajevo. The western response was low-key.

But at a meeting of NATO ambassadors here Wednesday, "there wasn't a hint" of a Sarajevo-type ultimatum or military action beyond carefully-targeted air strikes if UN lives were in danger, the NATO source said.

He added that the United Nations was relying on a Russian-UN diplomatic mission rather than public military threats to defuse the crisis.

Special Russian envoy to ex-Yugoslavia Vitaliy Churkin, UN envoy Yasushi Akashi and UN negotiator Thorvald Stoltenberg were meeting together with the Bosnian Serbs on Friday.

Bosnian Ambassador to UN on NATO 'Reluctance'

TA1704115194 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1000 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Interview with Ambassador Muhamed Secirbegovic, Bosnia-Herzegovina's permanent representative at the United Nations, by Reha Atasagun in New York; date not given—recorded, in English with superimposed translation into Turkish]

[Text] [Atasagun] Mr. Ambassador, what are the latest reports reaching you from Gorazde?

[Secirbegovic] The Serbs continue to attack. In the evening hours, the situation became more quieter. I believe that the Serbs will try to occupy the entire city at dawn. No progress has been made in the talks. Every promise the Serbs make will be to prevent or at least delay a Western air operation.

[Atasagun] Following conflicting reports about an air operation, it was understood that the NATO planes did not carry out an air strike. Do you think that the United Nations and NATO are unwilling to carry out an air strike?

[Secirbegovic] There definitely is a reluctance. We learned that the UN force asked for air support. NATO did not supply it. We were told that weather conditions were unsuitable. However, I know that there is reluctance. This stand is the result of the extremely nationalistic attitude the Russians have recently adopted. I really do not understand the stand of NATO and of the Western forces. First, they were defeated by Bosnian Serbs and the fascist forces in the Balkans. They were placed in an embarrassing situation.

[Atasagun—to viewers] Ambassador Secirbegovic believes that an intensive NATO air attack might force the Serbs to withdraw. Otherwise, thousands will die and the United Nations will entirely lose its credibility. If Gorazde falls, the United Nations will not have any role to play in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Then, the Serbs will be able to constantly threaten NATO and the United Nations. The ambassador also stresses that even if positive steps are taken toward lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia-Herzegovina, it is too late for Gorazde.

[Secirbegovic] The Westerners who promised to defend us told us that we do not need weapons. Now we are waiting to be massacred like a herd of sheep. The UN Security Council must convene and ensure that either of these two steps are taken: Either the Western countries and NATO will fulfill their promises and defend the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina, or the Muslims will regain their right to have weapons in order to defend themselves and to prevent the recurrence of similar developments.

Karadzic Not Ready To Normalize UN Relations

LD1504200694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1832 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—The supreme command of the armed forces of the Srpska republic met today in Pale, chaired by the supreme commander, Radovan Karadzic.

The participants reviewed the current military and political situation following the deployment of NATO aircraft on combat actions on the side of the Muslims.

It was noted that, by resorting to the use of air power and other means, certain circles in the West, the United States in particular, wish to goad the Srpska republic into concluding local and regional agreements and making other concessions. This particularly applies to the sectors of the front where the Muslims are in an unfavorable military situation and is geared toward encouraging the Muslims and creating conditions for attaining military and territorial objectives, a statement from the office of the president of the Srpska republic says.

The supreme command concludes that conditions are not yet ripe for the normalization of relations with UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Forces] military sector, but that the president of the Srpska republic may, if need be, and if he personally deems it necessary, maintain contact with UNPROFOR's civilian department with the aim of examining possibilities for extending the peace process, the statement reads.

Mladic Says U.S., NATO Supplying Muslims

LD1704005894

[Editorial Report] Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian at 2200 GMT on 16 April carries what is identified as a rebroadcast of a recorded report from the Bosnian Serb Pale Television in Serbo-Croatian on Bosnian Serb Commander General Ratko Mladic visiting the Gorazde front. The time and date of the original report is not given.

Mladic is seen showing a corpse of a Bosnian government soldier and scattered uniforms. He says that "a number of Alija's soldiers have been killed in this area. They are all dressed in American uniforms. We invited them to collect their dead but they did not come. Let us go on."

Mladic is shown chatting with his soldiers, and the camera shows more close-ups of U.S. uniforms. Mladic passes by a crater, and pointing to it says, "That is U.S. democracy and they want to impose it on the entire world."

An unidentified correspondent says, "what you said on many occasions before was confirmed today. Traces of U.S. supplies to the Muslim army have been found in this area."

Mladic answers: "That is nothing new, as you can see all of the equipment from parachutes to soldiers' boots is American or belonging to the states of the NATO alliance. This confirms that NATO has been waging war against us for two and a half years, I would say a bit more, because NATO has trained in its countries those who attacked Yugoslavia and the Serb nation."

The correspondent says that according to some reports, the bodies of British Special Air Service, SAS, members who fought together with the Muslims are in this area.

Mladic says, "Well, I think that we will pass down by the village of Jabuka; I can already see our soldiers there. Yesterday our soldiers observed a clash there between members of that special SAS unit [pauses], their group was probably encircled by the Muslims who wanted to take them hostage. As far as we know two of them were wounded and two were killed there."

The correspondent then says that the reports about the downing of the French plane are conflicting. Mladic responds, saying, "It is a pity you were not here yesterday with your cameras to record it. I think we recorded it with our cameras. In their despair, trying to provoke an international reaction and to get NATO to protect them, the Muslims fired Stinger missiles, which were dropped to them earlier with these parachutes, targeting NATO aircraft. NATO has had more losses than it has admitted."

UN Troops Accused of Joining Muslims in Attack

LD1704123194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1207 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—In the northeast section of the Sarajevo theater of war this morning, Muslim forces attacked Serb positions near the Pretis industrial site in Vogosca and the suburbs of Brioni and Ugljesic, Serb military sources report.

According to the same sources, some 50 antitank shells were fired and dozens of hand grenades were hurled.

The conflict culminated when UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] troops, stationed at Glavica and Sabanove Kuce, joined the Muslim forces, the Serb military forces claim. They say that the UNPROFOR and government troops were targeting the Serb positions with antiaircraft guns and incendiary ammunition. A trench in the central section of the Serb positions in Ugljesic was destroyed.

The Serb fighters returned fire in retaliation for these joint operations, so a lull followed 20 minutes later.

The Serbian military forces also report that there were no dead or wounded on the Serb side and that the front lines remain unchanged.

Serbs Threaten Retaliation Against Croatia

LD1704152094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Samac, 17 Apr (TANJUG)—The main headquarters of the Srpska republic's army [VRS] and the supreme command of the VRS are attaching particular emphasis to the defense of Serb Posavina [Serb-held northern corridor along the Sava river] following Croat and Muslim threats announcing an all-out offensive against this strategically important area, Manojlo Milovanovic, the commander of VRS main headquarters, said today.

We have decided to concentrate our forces and defend the part of the Srpska republic between Brcko and Doboj, General Milovanovic said. Accompanied by Major General Novica Simic he was attending a celebration of the second anniversary of the liberation of Samac.

After the Washington agreement and the establishment of a truce at the border with the republic of Serb Krajina, the Croatian Army deployed strong forces between Brod and Brcko, Milovanovic said. The Muslim army is also bringing fresh units to the front line between Gracanica and Brcko, with an objective of breaking through the Serb defense and gaining access to the Sava river, which we will not allow at any cost.

According to Milovanovic, last night the Croatian forces opened heavy fire from their strongholds of Orasje and Zupanja on the Serb positions and villages between Samac and Brcko.

We are now warning them that we will respond to any future attacks with full force against military targets in the Republic of Croatia, Milovanovic stressed.

Serbs Say Muslim Offensive Facing Collapse

LD1704162694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1552 GMT 17 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Zvornik, April 17 (TANJUG)—Moslems are continuing their days-old all-out offensive on Bosnian Serb territories, but its imminent collapse is a foregone conclusion, as it has been checked on many sectors, TANJUG learns from Bosnian Serb Army circles on Sunday.

Bosnian Serb Army sources estimate that the Moslem leadership is endeavouring, wherever possible, to provoke the Serb Army's reaction to its attacks, in order to heighten tensions and press on with the media demonisation of the Serbs.

The Moslems are trying, with the help of the foreign propaganda machine, to blame their actions against U.N. peacekeepers and NATO on the Serbs and provoke an anti-Serb reaction from the international public which should eventually lead to further air strikes against the Bosnian Serb Republic.

This is why a British NATO plane was downed over the eastern Bosnian Moslem enclave of Gorazde on Saturday and this is why the plane carrying U.N. Commander for Former Yugoslavia General Bertrand de Lapresle came under fire from Moslem positions in Sarajevo, Serb Army sources say.

They explain that Moslem attacks and provocations intensify on most fronts when NATO planes are buzzing overhead, with small-arms, mortars and anti-aircraft guns in full play.

The Bosnian Serb Army is refraining as much as possible from reacting, but makes it clear that whoever should attack the Bosnian Serb Republic would be treated as an enemy.

Serb Army circles expect the imminent crushing of the Moslem offensive to be followed by a regrouping of the Moslem forces and fresh attacks on some other fronts.

The circles indicate it is high time the Moslem side accepted the offer of the Bosnian Serb military and political leadership for establishing a lasting and total cessation of hostilities throughout the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina and turning to the peace process and a quest for political solutions.

Bosnian Croat Officials Say War Not Over

LD1704191894 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Video report by correspondent Miljenko Karakic, including recorded comments by Ivan Bender, president of Herceg-Bosna's chamber of deputies, Herceg-Bosna defense minister Vladimir Soljic, and Colonel General Ante Rose, Bosnian Croat Army commander]

[Excerpts] [Karakic] The Serb army shelled several residential buildings in Usora last night. Several civilians were wounded and fresh material damage was caused. [passage omitted]

[Karakic] [video shows damaged houses and Croat soldiers with weapons] All this shows that the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina is not over. Senior officials of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna stressed this today at a ceremony of oath-taking by the First Guards' Brigade of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] in Capljina, southern Bosnia.

[Bender] Since you know very well what is going on in Gorazde, in Posavina in northern Bosnia, and our Usora, we must keep that in mind at all times. You are the people who will stand with us on the bulwark of our homeland, and we must always think of those who have given all they had, who have given their lives.

[Soljic] We will fight for the Croats to have the right to decide for themselves on their future. If we create a joint army, that army will be formed so that one nation can never use it against the other, as it happened with the so-called Yugoslav People's Army. There is a lot of talk about the end of the war and demobilization. Unfortunately, an end to the war is not in sight yet, and therefore, we cannot speak about a large-scale demobilization. We will use the cease-fire to consolidate (?our forces) and divide the burden of the war more equally.

[Roso] You have heard enough wise words and phrases. There is one eternal truth: The war will never be over for us. I will repeat it once again if someone does not understand Croatian well: The war is not over. This much about the future.

Personally, I congratulate you today. I will place one thing upon your conscience. Bow only before the memory of this oath and before our dead. Do not entrust Croat weapons into anyone's hands. Thank you very much.

[Karakic] The oath-taking ceremony in Capljina was attended by many guests from the military and political ranks of Herzeg-Bosna, and by relatives of the Croat patriot Ante Bruno Busic after whom the HVO's First Guards' Brigade has been named. [video shows the ceremony and the speakers]

Serbs Release Journalist, Widen Ban on Reporters

AU1604144194 Paris AFP in English 1342 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, April 16 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb forces released Saturday [16 April] an American journalist working for a British newspaper, after detaining him for 24 hours as he tried to comply with an order to leave Serb-held sectors of the war-torn ex-Yugoslav republic.

Michael Montgomery, who works for the London-based DAILY TELEGRAPH, was stopped by Serb forces at Zvornik, in eastern Bosnia, as he attempted leave Bosnia.

The Serbs have banned all American journalists or those working for U.S. networks and publications from reporting in Serb-controlled regions of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"I was on my way out of the (self-declared Bosnian) Serb republic following the Bosnian Serb authorities' decision to expel all American journalists from their territories," he told AFP after his release.

"I was arrested at Zvornik along with a woman who works at the (Bosnian Serb) information ministry. At first I was kept in a military barracks and interogated for half an hour by an officer who did not give his name," Montgomery said.

"He explained that I was to be held. They offered me the choice between staying in the barracks or transfering to a hotel, which I accepted," he added.

"I was not mistreated," he added.

Montgomery was kept under armed guard at the hotel until his release around midday (1000 GMT).

Meanwhile French newspaper LE MONDE became the latest victim of the Yugoslav authorities' action against Belgrade-based foreign correspondents since Wednesday, the daily's managers said in Paris Saturday.

LE MONDE'S Belgrade correspondent Florence Hartmann, currently reporting in Sarajevo, was stripped of her accreditation by Yugoslav authorities on Friday.

Brcko Under Heavy Attack; Casualties Reported

LD1604160594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Three persons have been killed and 10 injured in Serb attacks on Brcko. Over 3,000 shells have landed on the defense positions of the Brcko municipality, the political department of the 108th Croat Defense Council [HVO] Infantry Brigade has reported. The Serbs have been using howitzers, tanks, multiple rocket-launchers, and mortars, while a number of commando groups have attempted to break through. These attempts have been successfully foiled.

An HVO advance party has reported that the Serb formations are again concentrating in several locations, while intelligence officers have said that a group of the so-called Bijeljina Panthers, a criminal formation that has taken part in some dozen massacres in northeast Bosnia, has arrived in Brcko.

Serbs Attacking Bihac, Buzim, Cazin Regions

AU1804092494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic]

[Text] Karadzic's fascists have been attacking the Bihac region since last night. The strongest attacks were again launched on Buzim and the surrounding area. They are being subjected to constant artillery and tank fire. The chetniks intermittently shelled the suburbs of Cazin. They also shelled indiscriminately the positions of the defenders of the Grmusko-Srbljanski plateau and Grabez, as well as the free territory of Bosanska Krupa and the defenders' positions.

Last night, the chetniks attacked the positions of the fighters in the zone of operations of the General Staff of the Croatian Defense Council in this region, especially the Pljesevica part of the front.

The paramilitary formations of the Kladusa traitors, in collaboration with the chetniks from the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina, continued to pursue their shameful aims last night. They launched attacks from the regions of Todorovo, Trzac, Liskovac, and Krivaja. They also carried out the strongest attacks on Buzim last night. In addition to Todorovo, they shelled Varoska Rijeka and other places.

The engineering works were stepped up on all lines in the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina yesterday. The chetniks are rapidly bringing heavy arms and are grouping new forces.

An appeal was again sent from the Bihac region to the international community, the state Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina to urgently deploy UN forces on the border between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia to prevent new attacks and aggression from the territory of another state on this UN protected zone.

This is Mirza Sadikovic reporting for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television.

Serbs Attack Tesanj, Maglaj Areas

AU1804113694 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 18 Apr 94

[Smail Terzic report from the 7th South Operative Group]

[Excerpt] The residents of Tesanj, Maglaj, and the free territories in the Doboj and Teslic regions will have bad memories of last night. The [Serbian] aggressor fired hundreds of shells at these places, especially on the residential areas of Matuzici, [word indistinct], Alibegovici, (?Planje), and the village of Kracevo, where one person was killed and scores wounded. [passage omitted]

Update on Casualties, Humanitarian Needs

LD1704123794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1200 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] In the past 24 hours 34 persons have been killed and another 125 wounded in the areas around Gorazde, Brcko, Bihac, Celic, Gracanica, Tesanj, Maglaj, Breza, Travnik, Zvornik, and Sarajevo, the republican headquarters for health and social security of Bosnia-Herzegovina has reported. The hospital in Gorazde urgently requires medicine [words indistinct words] and other surgical equipment, while a large number of refugees need tents, blankets, sleeping bags, and food. Humanitarian aid is also

needed in Srebrenica, Zepa, Bihac, Maglaj, Tesanj, Sarajevo, and the area [words indistinct].

Article Reviews Air Defense Capability of Serbs

AU1804113794 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 13 Apr 94 p 7

[Article by Lj.S.: "Needles Drill Phantoms"]

[Text] The latest series of NATO air strikes (by F-16 and F-18 aircraft) against Serbian positions around Gorazde was probably yet another practical test of the potential of the newest generation of U.S. Air Force equipment.

According to available data, U.S. fighter bombers carried out selective strikes against Serbian positions using modern laser guided bombs. Their activity, accompanied by casualties, was this time carried out under almost test conditions, like on a test range since the army of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina air defense did not respond. It did not try to prevent the two NATO air strikes.

Two Sorts of Markers

As long as the military strategists of the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina do not assess that an open conflict with the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] and NATO is inevitable, no other Serbian reaction can be expected. If it comes to an open conflict, the destruction would be far more extensive, but NATO and UNPROFOR would have to count on casualties and technical damage, too.

One of the air strikes, in which the laser marking of targets was used, can be seen on the diagram. Before an aircraft with laser- guided bombs reaches the target area, it is necessary to mark the target (an armored vehicle) with a laser from another aircraft flying at a very high altitude. Another possibility is to mark the target using a ground marker, provided, however, that there is good visibility. In this case this could have been done by UNPROFOR military observers if they had the equipment necessary for laser marking. After the target has been marked, either from the air or from the ground, it can easily be hit by a laser bomb or missile.

As far as the present generation of markers is concerned, there are certain reservations in the world about their operational efficiency. Aircraft which carry target markers have to fly at dangerously high altitudes until the strike aircraft have dropped the bombs and left the target area. On the other hand, a marker on the ground can be very easily detected.

In case of Gorazde, the action by the F-16 and F-18 aircraft was not at all interrupted. If conflicts between the peacekeeping forces and Serbian soldiers continue, it will be necessary to activate the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina air defense. Western intelligence circles certainly know what equipment the Serbian air defense has, just as they know that this system has not been employed so far to attack NATO aviation.

It can be claimed without exaggerated self-confidence that the aircraft that marked the Serbian targets on the ground with lasers (if this option was used) could have been destroyed by the ground- to-ground missile systems "Volhol," "Neva," or "Drina." It is known that aircraft flying at high altitudes can very easily be shot down. The aircraft that carried out the strike could probably have been hit, too. The United States knows that the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina Army possesses portable antiaircraft missiles (Stinger, Arrow, and Needle), which have proved to be very successful in shooting down low-flying targets.

Once Activated—No Return

Soldiers fire these missiles, which have a range of approximately 3,000 meters, from the shoulder. They have an automatic infra-red guidance system, which enables them to hit their target with a 90-percent certainty. It must also be considered that it is never the case that only one missile is used. "The Needle" is the modified version of the Russian "Arrow" rocket with built-in sensors for avoiding the infra-red flares that the aircraft releases behind itself in order to "deceive" the missile.

The Serbian army of Bosnia-Herzegovina has large quantities of portable antiaircraft missiles, and according to some information the missile system of the air defense troops has been enhanced lately. The United States knows where the active missile and radar centers in the Srpska republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are situated. They also know that there are "passive" systems at unknown locations that can be discovered only when they are activated. Therefore it would be good if they were never activated because in such a case there would be no return.

Weapons Under UN Control 'Stolen' by Serbs

LD1704204594 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Text] Serb forces in Baranja, in east Croatia, have taken part of the heavy weapons which were under the control of the UN Protection Force, according to Belgian military spokesman Colonel (Fredi Van Weg).

A group of 520 Belgian soldiers is deployed in Baranja, which has been under Serb occupation for two years. In early April, Croatia agreed on a cease-fire with the rebel Serbs and, under the agreement, the Serbs placed their heavy weapons under UN control in six warehouses.

The fact that a certain number of weapons have been stolen should be condemned, because this will have a negative impact on the peace process which has taken off well, Colonel (Van Weg) said.

Official Threatens Use of Force To Subdue RSK

LD1604233494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2258 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Prague, April 16 (TANJUG)—Zagreb is ready to use force if necessary by the end of the year to bring the republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) into Croatia, a Croat official has stated.

Slavko Degoricija, who headed a Croatian delegation to talks with the RSK on normalization of mutual relations, told the Czech news agency CTK late on Friday [15 April] that force would be used only if the reintegration process were not completed within six months.

Degoricija said the position of Russia, the European Union and the U.N. Security Council was the same—Krajina's reintegration into Croatia must be completed within six months, i.e. before the expiry of the U.N. peacekeepers' mandate. The reintegration would be carried out in three stages, with the first stage focusing on a truce, the second on the economy and the third on political issues, he explained.

In case the Serb side should not agree, we shall inform the Security Council and take adequate steps for the reintegration of Krajina, the Croatian official said.

The first round of RSK-Croatia talks at the Russian Embassy in Zagreb in March was completed successfully. The agreement on the cessation of hostilities and troop disengagement which was reached on the occasion is being fully honoured.

In preparation for the second stage of the talks on normalization of relations, RSK officials have insisted with international mediators that this should in no way prejudge a political solution, especially as the two sides hold diametrically opposed views about the political settlement.

RSK president Milan Martic ruled out any possibility of Krajina forming part of Croatia.

The only way to peace is to keep the RSK and Croatia (?apart) because living toghther is absolutely out of the question, Martic told the CTK.

He said the RSK was ready to make a compromise, not by accepting autonomy within Croatia but by restoring economic and other ties. "The basic (?condition) for this is equality between the RSK and croatia (?as) two independent states," he was categorical. [passage indistinct]

Tudjman Chairs Security Council Session

LD1504162194 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Excerpt] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia, today chaired the 40th session of the Presidential Council for Defense and National Security, held at the Presidential Palace. The council discussed the current political situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in the Republic of Croatia. The Council also heard a report by Mate Granic, the deputy prime minister and foreign minister, after his return from Turkey and Greece.

Concerning the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, it was viewed that relations between Serbs and Muslims and relations between Serbs and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] and the international community are deteriorating once again.

The council examined President Tudjman's recent state visit to Bosnia-Herzegovina and came to the conclusion that the visit would further consolidate the positive orientation of the Washington agreement, and also encourage those forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina advocating a peaceful solution to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In connection with the cease-fire with local Serbs from UN protected areas the council reiterated the Croatian leadership's position that there can be no resumption of talks with the Serbs outside the Republic of Croatia. [passage omitted]

Tudjman Interviewed on Bosnian Issues

LD1704155094 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1810 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Interview with President Franjo Tudjman by unidentified Bosnia-Herzegovina television journalist; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Journalist] Mr. President, I would first like to thank you on behalf of Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television for being so kind as to set aside some time to grant this—as far as I know—first interview for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television. Your statements have often been misinterpreted, you have often been quoted out of context by foreign news agencies—there is a great deal of interest among Sarajevans in the answers you will give to the questions I will try to ask prior to your announced visit to Sarajevo.

Let us start from the beginning, in other words from the time the Republic of Croatia recognized the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina; let me recall that Croatia was the first to do so. The date was 7 April 1992, two years ago. The ambassador was appointed that same year, some five or six months later. This will be your first visit to Sarajevo—two years after recognition. In the meantime President Izetbegovic has visited Croatia quite often. Why is your visit taking place now, relatively late in the day?

[Tudjman] I would like to ask you why you are asking such a question. The reason Mr. Izetbegovic visited Zagreb so often was because Croatia has been, so to speak, the Bosnian government's mainstay, Bosnia's mainstay in its struggle for independence. Generally speaking, Croatia has always extended its hospitality—whenever Mr. Izetbegovic had to travel to the West, whenever he had to go somewhere for talks, it was Croatia that made it possible [changes thought], for Bosnia-Herzegovina to organize itself for defense against the aggressor.

In such circumstances, the circumstances Bosnia-Herzegovina was in, Mr. Izetbegovic neither invited me to Bosnia-Herzegovina nor could I have come under such circumstances. The exact date of even this prearranged visit cannot be fixed yet, given the circumstances. So, those are the reasons why I am visiting Bosnia-Herzegovina now.

I gladly accepted Mr. Izetbegovic's invitation after the signing of the Washington accords, but the answer to your question lies in the situation.

[Journalist] When he invited you to visit, President Izetbegovic stressed that the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have a good many issues in common, or rather questions which should be considered together. In your view, what are these issues?

[Tudjman] Well, above all the question of the revitalization of the Washington agreement, the agreement on a federation between the Croatian and Bosniak Muslim nations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and also the question of the creation of a confederation between a federal Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia. These are vital questions which are of vital importance both to the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation and to Croatia.

[Journalist] So this will be the focus of your talks when you come to Sarajevo in the next few days?

[Tudjman] Certainly.

[Journalist] The Croatian ruling party and you personally—at least it is understood this way in Sarajevo, and not only in Sarajevo—interpret the Washington agreement as the continuation of your policy. However, I must remind you, again from Sarajevo's point of view, that in Bosnia-Herzegovina you often stress that President Izetbegovic personally proposed to you at one of the Geneva meetings something similar and virtually the same as what has now been signed in Washington. I have to ask you directly, why at that time in Geneva did you not accept these proposals which in Sarajevo they are saying are the same, while you have now signed them in Washington?

[Tudjman] Because they are not the same proposals. The Washington agreement reflects the continuity of Croatian policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina: allow me to remind you and the public in Bosnia-Herzegovina of some facts. Croatian policy and I personally were in favour of realizing the Cutilheiro proposal—not only Cutilheiro's proposal, but we also took part in working out a proposal on a cantonal system for Bosnia-Herzegovina in order to resolve the war crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina in this way. Croatian policy and I personally were also in favor of finding a solution to the war crisis, the political crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, on the basis of the Vance-Owen proposal on the division of Bosnia-Herzegovina into provinces.

When all this came to nothing—and when, in opposition to the separation of the so-called Srpska republic in Bosnia, the idea emerged that the Muslims might be organized as a separate republic and as a separate state in the framework of the program that emerged in the European conference on the former Yugoslavia in Bosnia and also in the framework of the reality which was unfurling in Bosnia- Herzegovina, in other words in the framework of these ideas of the creation of a union of republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina—the Muslim leadership developed the idea that it would be better for the Muslims to realize their own republic, their own separate state.

So to this end, by way of resistance to Serb aggression, and in this search for a solution to the crisis of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna was also created.

It was in this context that Mr. Izetbegovic proposed that they go for a union between the Srpska republic and a unified Muslim-Croat republic. And this is quite different from the current agreement on a Bosniak Muslim-Croat federation. In contrast to this, I was the one who proposed that there be a confederation between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and also the closest cooperation between the republics—the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and the Muslim republic. So this proposal was also put forward at the Berlin meeting.

Europe, Germany, and the world convinced themselves of the benefits of this proposal and believed that Croatian policy was in favor of solutions which would be acceptable both to the Bosniak Muslim people and to the Croatian people, and which would have provided prospects for the resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina. So this is something quite different from the proposal which you mentioned. However, the vital thing is that we did reach agreement in Washington on the creation of a Bosniak Muslim-Croatian federation and a confederation with Croatia.

[Journalist] Mr. President, if you could tell us more—it seems we can never stop dwelling on this problem—what are currently the most burning issues in relations between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tudjman] First of all we should solve certain material questions. As you know, Croatia has accommodated several hundred thousand refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina of which more than half are Muslims, not only Croats. Croatia has had to allocate vast sums for the accommodation of those refugees, the education of the children, for extending medical care to the wounded from Bosnia-Herzegovina. So, we have to solve these material questions. However, I should say that—important as they may be—these questions are nevertheless marginal compared to the task of creating conditions for the birth of the Bosnia-Herzegovina federation and finding the best ways for setting up confederal relations between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia in terms of the economy, cultural links, and overall communal relations in the search for a new international order in the region of former Yugoslavia and this part of southeast Europe.

[Journalist] Mr. President, you mentioned the federation, which has been agreed on at least in principle and in writing. When could we expect something similar in the case of the confederation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tudjman] The moment the federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina becomes established and an overall solution to the crisis in Bosnia- Herzegovina is found.

[Journalist] Mr. President, I must apologize for my bluntness but please answer this—namely, it often happens that statements made by your associates and you yourself are construed in Sarajevo as meddling in the internal affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina. This particularly applies to your insistence on your concern for your compatriots in the neighboring country. From the Sarajevan and Bosnia-Herzegovina point of view, this sometimes seems like interference in internal affairs. I would like to ask you whether, after Washington, we in Bosnia-Herzegovina can expect this to become confined within acceptable boundaries?

[Tudjman] Is what I said about Croatia making it possible for Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Sarajevo government to organize their defense with Croatia's help also meddling in internal affairs? Is the fact that we accepted several hundred thousand refugees from Bosnia-Herzegovina meddling? Were we interfering when we were compelled to extend aid to the Croat population to defend itself against Serb aggression? At that time, when the Muslims were not yet prepared and when they did not believe the Yugo-communist army and Serbia and Montenegro would attack Bosnia, our Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina were prepared precisely because they knew what was going on and because Croatia helped them defend themselves.

And something else—Croatian territory was threatened from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina which in the beginning was not prepared to defend itself from Serbian and Montenegrin and Yugo-communist aggression. I am not only referring to the immediate vicinity of Dubrovnik but to all of southern Croatia, although this especially applies to the regions east of the Neretva, around Dubrovnik. So, we had to interfere in order to defend the Croatian Republic as well as to extend aid to the Croat people who were threatened with genocide, as they truly were later on, just like the Muslim people.

Therefore, this was no meddling but a result of the crisis of the former Yugoslavia, the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia. What was at issue here was whether or not the whole of Bosnia- Herzegovina would be devoured by Greater Serbia. In this context we held talks with Mr. Izetbegovic and other Muslim leaders. You probably know that in the course of this series of talks we signed an agreement on 12 July 1992 in which it was said that the joint efforts against Serb aggression call for cooperation, including military cooperation in border areas.

Since we are discussing this issue and since you formulated your question the way you did, I must recall that we in Croatia even suggested a direct military alliance at the time. However, the Sarajevo government did not agree to a general military alliance but only to cooperation in border areas. So, this is what it was all about, not meddling. Croatia was extending aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina, not only to the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina for their defense against Serb aggression; this was also aid to the Muslims to stand on their feet, to organize in their opposition to Serb aggression, and all this was aimed at creating conditions for the preservation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

[Journalist] Please let me say that it was precisely the creation of, as we in Bosnia-Herzegovina say, the so-called Herceg-Bosna that was perceived by the government in Sarajevo and the presidency as an intention to partition Bosnia. What is your comment?

[Tudjman] Your question is again based on the wrong premises. A little while ago I explained to you that we favored both a cantonal and a provincial organization of Bosnia-Herzegovina. But when this fell through, in the light of what was going on on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the war, when these proposals were not accepted by all three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina, then it is understandable that we—contrary to this ambition of the Serbs to isolate themselves as a separate republic and contrary, as I said, to the intention, the Muslim leadership's considerable intention to create their own republic, their own independent Muslim state—that the Croats had to start creating their own republic, Herceg-Bosna. The Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna was created in the resistance to Serbian aggression. Had it not been for this resistance the whole of Bosnia-Herzegovina would have probably, as I said, fallen into the hands of Greater Serbia.

Hence, this was not a result of Croatia's choice in favor of Herceg-Bosna's secession. I will tell you one truth, two truths. We signed an agreement with Mr. Izetbegovic on 14 September 1993 in Geneva and with the Muslim leadership, a public agreement on cooperation between the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna and the Muslim republic within the framework of a union. We also signed a secret agreement—which does not have to be secret any longer now, given how the situation has evolved—an agreement on a confederation of these republics with Croatia.

On 16 September, however, two days later, the Muslim leadership signed an agreement with the Serbs which, in fact, envisaged the break-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina, its carve-up, as this agreement stated that in the event of the union being carved up, the rights of the present Bosnia-Herzegovina, the rights of its membership in the United Nations, would be vested in a Muslim republic. Consequently, one cannot, there is no justification, there are no historical and political reasons for ascribing this intention to the Croat people in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia's policies, that Croatia has favored a break-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina since the beginning [as heard]. It was not in Croatia's interest to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I will even tell you one other thing. Highly responsible people from the Muslim leadership have told me: You can annex Herceg-Bosna to Croatia, but on condition that central Bosnia remains within the framework of the Muslim republic. I refused to accept this. I took into consideration the Croatian people outside the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna—the area which had then been under direct control [as heard]—and I believed, for strategic reasons, that more deeply-rooted joint interests existed than those regarding the annexation of western Herzegovina, which had been proposed.

All your questions indicate that there is a lack of understanding and one-sidedness in the way the Bosnian Muslim public was being informed about Croatia's policy from the very beginning of the crisis until today. This Croatian policy has led to what we have achieved [as heard]. Had it not been for the Croat republic of Hereg-Bosna, which also took others into consideration—the leadership of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna included not only people from Herzegovina, but also those from central Bosnia and Bosnian Posavina—we would not have saved these areas, the survival of Bosnia-Herzegovina would not have been possible, and there would not have been an agreement on the Bosnian Muslim-Croat federation and on the confederation with Croatia. These are the foundations we should bear in mind, and it is this policy that we should build upon, and not upon one-sided and false interpretations of the Croatian policy.

[Journalist] What are real prospects for the full implementation of the Washington agreement?

[Tudjman] I think the prospects are good because the Washington agreement succeeded in coordinating Bosniak Muslim and Croat interests in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well as the interests of Bosniak Muslims and Croats with those of the Croatian state.

Furthermore, these interests have been adjusted to the interests of the western world which did not want to allow the realization of Greater Serbian plans to incorporate Bosnia-Herzegovina into a Greater Serbia, nor did it allow—and these tendencies existed—extremist-fundamentalist Mujahedin-oriented plans to create an Islamic state in Bosnia and in Europe.

In this agreement on the Bosniak Muslim-Croat federation and on the confederation with Croatia, Croat and Muslim interests coincided with the interests of the Western world to create the preconditions for a democratic system and for linking Bosnia-Herzegovina with Western civilization—contrary to aspirations to create a Greater Serbia and contrary to certain extremist notions that a fundamentalist Islamic state could be created. These are the guarantees for the implementation of this agreement.

[Journalist] Mr. President, after Geneva, when you and President Izetbegovic signed one of the Geneva agreements, your Minister Silajdzic and Minister Granic were set a task to implement the agreement. After the Washington agreement, are there any concrete tasks of this kind? Are there any concrete plans to implement it?

[Tudjman] For Christ's sake, the agreement is being implemented daily: the POWs have been released, talks are under way on the organization of federal power in Bosnia-Herzegovina, plans exist on how to establish the confederation—it is clear that this is a matter involving serious politicians dealing with serious politics and not the ones dealing with policy-mongering, who are calling into question this agreement beforehand, not taking into consideration the strategic elements. The problem of solving the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina does not only belong to Croats and Muslims, or to Croats, Muslims, and Serbs, but also to the eastern and the western world.

[Journalist] Looking at it from the present perspective, after all these evils we lived through together, what if anything would you change in your policy toward Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tudjman] I answered this question when answering all your previous questions. I would not change anything. I would only wish to see that ideas about the necessity of the Bosniak Muslim-Croat alliance prevail in the Bosniak Muslim policy and that those are eliminated who went as far as claiming that it was wrong for the Muslims to enter a federation with the Croats. I would also like to see the revival of the traditions of Bosniak Muslim leaders—political and cultural—who advocated the idea that the Muslims had historic ties with the Croatian people through their origins and their language. Should I perhaps remind you of Safet Bey Basagic [Bosnian Muslim poet], I may not be able to quote

precisely—who had even predicted what I have just spoken of, that this is not just a Croat-Muslim issue, but also the issue of east and west. He said in one of his verses, I think: The sounds of my Croatian language can unite the east and the west, can be the food of both songs and the mind; if I am not mistaken.

I would like these people to come to the fore, the people who would nurture that which both Safet Bey Basagic and many other eminent Muslim political and cultural leaders have been nurturing. I knew many of them, I was especially fond of Mak Dizdar [Bosnian Muslim poet]. The same goes for Croats, for people like Franciscan [Bosnian Croat priest and poet] Grga Martic who wrote poems and spoke about unity in the interest of both Bosniak Muslims and Croats. I will try to remeber what Grga Martic said: There is no hope for a home lacking brotherly love, and there is no hope for a Bosnia without Croatia. Therefore this idea has survived despite everything that happened between the Croats and the Muslims in history. Because of this division between east and west and because of the geopolitical links, there is a need for a federation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and for a concept of a confederation. For this to be achieved, it is necessary for both Muslims and Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina to get used to the idea that this is a historic necessity and that today's world needs it, so that they could coordinate their actions in this direction and know how to overcome all minor details which are different and which we discussed in part in this interview.

[Journalist] Mr. Tudjman, I would like to thank you and ask you one last question: At one of your regular monthly news conferences, you said that you would be happy to go to Sarajevo. Do you still think you would be going there happily?

[Tudjman] I am still happy to go, but I will be going with the feeling that in this way I would be implementing the policy which I have been conducting right from the beginning. This policy has also been advocated by far-sighted people—both Croats and Muslims, as I said. I personally have known Croatian politicians who have played an important role not only in the political life of Bosnia-Herzegovina—I am thinking of Dr. (Barisa Smojan) or Dr. (Juraj Sute)—but in Croatian politics generally. I have also known Muslim politicians and cultural workers.

My visit to Sarajevo and Bosnia-Herzegovina will therefore be the continuation of the tendencies that unless there is a resolution of our future as envisaged by the Washington agreement, there would be no peaceful life together in this part of southeast Europe, and without this no new international order would be possible, not only on the territory of the former Yugoslavia but there would also be no peace in this part of Europe.

So it is with this sense of the historical necessity of implementing this agreement, and life together as envisaged in the Washington agreement, that I am going to Sarajevo, in the hope that my visit will contribute to the implementation of these ideas and subsequently to the overcoming, as soon as possible, of not only the political but also the war crisis we are faced with at present and which the whole world is concerned with, and the whole world is requesting that we do this.

[Journalist] Mr. President, thank you for the conversation and bon voyage to Sarajevo.

[Tudjman] Thank you.

Krajina's Mikelic Views Future Government

AU1704195194 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Interview with Borislav Mikelic, prime minister-designate of the republic of Serbian Krajina, by Zoran Zivkovic in Belgrade; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Studio announcer] In the office of the republic of Serbian Krajina in Belgrade, Borislav Mikelic, prime minister designate of the republic of Serbian Krajina, held consultations with representatives of the parliamentary parties pertaining to the formation of the government. The consultations were also attended by Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serbian Krajina. An agreement was reached on the formation of a government of national unity that will be constituted at the assembly session scheduled for 20 April in Knin. In the name of the Serbian Democratic Party for Krajina [SDS], its president Dr. Milan Babic gave his agreement and support to Prime Minister Designate Borislav Mikelic for forming a government in which the SDS Krajina will be represented in proportion to its representation in the parliament. Veljko Vukelic, president of the deputy caucus of the SDS for Serbian lands, extended his support to this constructive agreement between Mikelic and Babic. The composition of the new government of national unity of the republic of Serbian Krajina was also established.

[Zivkovic] Mr. Mikelic, we have heard that on 20 April, the republic of Serbian Krajina will get a government of national unity.

[Mikelic] Well, yes. As soon as I was nominated prime minister designate by President Martic, I joined these, so to speak, active talks with the representatives and presidents of all the parties in the republic of Serbian Krajina. Of course, one of the central issues was the position the Serbian Democratic Party, headed by Mr. Babic, would take. Incidentally, the SDS has the greatest number of deputies in the republican assembly, regarding the part of the parliamentary coalition that existed [sentence as heard].

For my part, I also talked to the leadership of the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], who, because of certain requests that I obviously could not implement—I even offered a part of their membership to join our government—however, owing to certain principled or some other reasons, they remained within the framework of their

party's position [sentence as heard]. We have reached a complete agreement, an integral agreement with Mr. Babic, with the representatives of the SDS of the Serbian lands and other parties, and I can say that we have already reached an agreement on all the ministers in the framework of the future government which I will lead.

Therefore, along with the program that I will present to the assembly of the republic of Serbian Krajina on Wednesday, 20 April, I will also present the composition of the government, the cabinet, that is, and I believe that in such agreements, [words indistinct] we will achieve the unity which is of extreme importance to the Serbian people within the framework of the republic of Serbian Krajina at a point when we have signed this peace process, when we need to strengthen the Krajina from within, when we need to revive production, strengthen the civic state, and offer a perspective of our future joint state which we will create with the Srpska republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

I am convinced that this composition of the government and our agreement will lessen the tensions present on the ground, and that the Serbian people in the Krajina [changes thought], and that more favorable news will come from the Krajina than has been the case in the previous year and in those months when there were significant conflicts there.

Notes From the Croatian Press

94P20643A

[Editorial Report] The following items on political and economic developments in the Republic of Croatia are drawn from periodicals published in the Republic.

HSLS Leader in Slavonia on Bosnia, Croatian Policy

The founding assembly of the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS] municipal branch was held in Semeljci in the presence of HSLS members from Djakovo, Trnava, Koritna, and Kesinci in eastern Slavonia. The Osijek daily GLAS SLAVONIJE on 17 March reports that the assembly was addressed by Ivica Sutalo, a delegate in the Croatian Assembly and president of the Djakovo HSLS branch, who expressed his "satisfaction" at the founding of the first HSLS branch in the eastern part of the Djakovo region. Speaking about the current political situation in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sutalo said that HSLS members welcome the cease-fire in Bosnia between the Croats and the Muslims, but that they are afraid of the rapid conclusion of the agreement on confederation, even before Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina have been freed from the "Serbian aggressor."

"Croats plunged twice, like geese, into the fog of the Yugoslav union; a third plunge, after all the victims and destruction, could be dangerous," Sutalo warned, adding that Croatian official policy during the last four years had been "consistent in its inconsistency." "This is why the HSLS, as the first opposition party, has the historical duty to present its views in a stronger and more precise way and to start examining the question of responsibility for the events of the last four years," Sutalo concluded according to the daily.

Questions Surrounding Privatization of Brewery

The story of the privatization of the Karlovac Pivovara [Brewery] and the sale of shares in it point to "irregularities" in the work of the Croatian Privatization Fund, according to the Zagreb weekly DANAS of 22 March. DANAS reports such irregularities were even mentioned by President Franjo Tudjman at a recent news conference when he announced some dismissals of Fund personnel, "which provoked tumultuous applause from those present." The weekly notes that Andronik Luksic, a resident of Chile, "who is said to be one of the richest Croats in the world," is the buyer of the Croatian Privatization Fund's shares of the Karlovac brewery. Luksic, treated as a Croat citizen "thanks to a special interpretation" by the Ministry of Finance, received a discount of 30 percent of the brewery's valuation instead of the 10 percent a noncitizen would have received, so that instead of 15.1 million German marks he paid 10.7 million. Initially, the Fund opened its meetings on the privatization of the brewery to the public, DANAS notes, but after two meetings, "precisely as the privatization story was entering its final phase," the doors were closed. "It became obvious that some of the things discussed were not meant to be heard by everyone, and especially not by journalists," DANAS comments. Many things about the privatization of the brewery remain unclear, DANAS adds, concluding that what took place behind closed doors was politically motivated.

Light Metal Factory Privatization Scandal

"A big scandal" is about to break out over the privatization of the Light Metals Factory [Tvornica Lakih Metala (TLM)] in Sibenik, which before the war in Croatia was the largest exporter in the Sibenik-Drnis zupanija [parish] and which still accounts for almost all of the parish's industrial production. The 18 March issue of Zagreb GLOBUS reports that the "warnings and cries for help" arriving more and more frequently from the Sibenik TLM indicate that the privatization of this enterprise could become "Croatia's robbery of the century." After three years of "agony," the former aluminum giant, with an annual turnover of over $250 million and 5,000 employees, is threatened with complete collapse. Officially, TLM's total debt amounts to 140 million German marks, while its assessed value is 119 million German marks.

Sibenik residents are especially worried about the funds in the TLM's foreign trade office, Comal, established in Munich, Germany, when all links with the former Yugoslav company, Genex, that had conducted TLM's foreign trade, were broken as a result of the war. Comal's basic task was to collect from Genex all funds that belonged to TLM and to prevent the money from ending up in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Between 5 and 7 million

German marks just sit in Comal, outside Croatia, while debts to business partners which supply raw materials are being repaid slowly or not at all, GLOBUS notes, adding that Sibenik residents ask: "Is someone trying to bring the factory to total collapse, only to buy it then for next to nothing?" There is no interest in the current Privatization Fund offer of 66 million German marks, but a situation is being created in which TLM could be bought from the state for a maximum of 10 million German marks, GLOBUS concludes.

Mate Boban's Life Out of Power

Today, when he is no longer president of Herceg-Bosna, when documents about abolishing Herceg-Bosna are being signed, and when he is no longer even mentioned on Croatian television, Mate Boban—now merely the Zagreb Tobacco Factory representative for southern Croatia—sits in a Zagreb apartment reading newspapers and watching television. According to the 22 March issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS, as he drinks Turkish coffee and smokes three packs of cigarettes daily, he cannot stop wondering about the turnaround by the journalists who until recently supported him, and by the politicians whom "he brought out of anonymity." Not only is he no longer invited to luncheons in the Presidential Office, but he is not being consulted on the Herceg-Bosna negotiations and does not even hear from people who constantly used to seek favors from him.

Boban is even more disappointed when he appears on the street, DANAS says, citing his complaint to a friend: "I cannot believe that acquaintances are turning their faces away from me and that they are crossing to the other side of the street. Everyone has abandoned me." DANAS says that his disappointment probably stems from awareness that he is the only politician whom Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has had to renounce. Everyone else, less important figures, even those who publicly opposed the president's views, remain on the team, DANAS notes, nevertheless giving Boban credit for the fact that "Croats from Bosnia-Herzegovina will not accept any kind of federation which reduces the rights to which they are entitled as a sovereign people." DANAS adds that it is a shame that Boban, through poor organizational and personnel moves, tolerance of criminals, and "useless" violation of the human rights of the Bosnian Muslims, missed his chance to implement a concept of Herceg-Bosna acceptable to the West. Neither he nor his generation can correct this, but future generations will surely remember it, the weekly concludes.

Federal

Lilic Chairs Supreme Defense Council Meeting

LD1504145894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1317 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Apr (TANJUG)— A session of the Supreme Defense Council presided over by FRY President Zoran Lilic was held in Belgrade today.

As the Yugoslav president's military office has announced, in addition to the members of the Supreme Defense Council, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, the session was also attended by FRY Prime Minister Rade Kontic, FRY Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic, and Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army.

The Supreme Defense Council examined the overall military and political situation in the region and the level of combat readiness of the Yugoslav Army and said that the council's decisions have been successfully implemented.

Other issues of importance for the defense and security of the country were also discussed at the session today.

Lilic: UN Lost 'All Credibility' by Bombing

AU1604162294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Excerpt] [Studio announcer] Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, held talks in Aleksandrovac Zupski with the communal leadership. Miroljub Simonovic reports from Krusevac.

[Begin recording] [Simonovic] By making the decision to bomb Serbian positions around Gorazde, the United Nations has lost credibility and trust in the mission it is carrying out, said President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Zoran Lilic in Aleksandrovac today, and added:

[Lilic] Because of its irresponsible and unprincipled and I would say rash behavior of some of its prominent personalities, and under the pressure of those who believe that they can realize their interests through force and to the disadvantage of others, the United Nations today is directly involved in unnecessary destruction and new victims in the area of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. It has become a contradiction to itself, and it does not even observe its own documents, not even the UN Charter. By making the decision to bomb Serbian positions around Gorazde, it has lost all credibility and trust in the mission it is carrying out. The only way for the United Nations to recover at least partially the role it has lost is to proceed immediately with the signing of a peace settlement for the entire territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to deploy all its forces on the demarcation lines of the conflicts, to protect peace impartially, and primarily to enable political negotiations. This is what we in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Republic of Serbia, and in the Republic of Montenegro have always considered the only right solution and the only real way out of the Yugoslav crisis. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Chamber of Citizens Condemns Air Strikes

LD1404133094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1139 GMT 14 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Apr (TANJUG)—The Federal Assembly Chamber of Citizens today adopted a declaration resolutely condemning NATO's armed attacks under UN auspices on the Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, which brought about destruction and civilian casualties.

The declaration was supported by 71 votes, and nine deputies abstained. "By launching these armed attacks, the United Nations has abandoned its impartial peacemaking role and openly sided with the Muslim side in the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina," the declaration states. It also says the Federal Assembly expresses concern over the negative consequences of the attacks for the attempts to put an end to the civil war and find a just political solution in former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The document notes that the escalation of the conflict took place because the Muslims were using the protected zones, Gorazde in particular, to attack Serb positions and because the United Nations failed to carry out disarmament within the protected zones, something it was duty-bound to do. Nor did the United Nations react to the Muslim military operations launched from these zones.

"In so doing, the United Nations took the risk and responsibility for every possible consequence, and they cannot be foreseen at the moment. It is a regrettable fact that it is precisely the United Nations, which under its charter is duty-bound to maintain peace and international security, is taking steps to escalate the war and threaten the peace process," the declaration says.

The Federal Assembly calls on the United Nations to immediately stop its aggressive operations against the Serbian people, to abandon their double standards applied to participants in the civil war in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, to restart a dialogue leading to the cessation of all military activities, and to seek solutions only by political means and through negotiations while heeding the interests of all sides.

The declaration stresses that the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will continue its hitherto constructive policy of active participation in the peace process, but it cannot be indifferent to operations that are armed attacks against the Serbian people in former Bosnia-Herzegovina, and it will continue to follow further developments closely.

Dissatisfied with the fact that no debate preceded the adoption of the declaration, the deputies of the Serbian Radical Party and the People's Party of Montenegro walked out of the assembly hall.

Chamber of Republics Debates Declaration

AU1504125794 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Excerpt] A session of the FRY Assembly Chamber of Republics is under way in Belgrade. Vladimir Nikolic reports:

[Begin recording] The debate is under way about the text of the declaration condemning the air raid on Serbian positions around Gorazde by NATO under UN auspices.

Deputy Miodrag Vukovic expressed surprise that some media presented the declaration adopted at the Citizens' Chamber yesterday as the Federal Assembly's declaration and the Chamber of Republics is deciding on it only now. Until a document is adopted by both Federal Assembly chambers, it has not really been adopted, Vukovic said.

Deputy Novak Kilbarda is of the opinion that the declaration cannot be adopted this way. It is incomprehensible that the activities of both chambers are not synchronized when such major themes are at stake. Kilbarda has nothing against the declaration and wants it to be adopted, but does not agree with its text. He wondered why it does not say in the declaration that these were the Serbian defense positions and that what was involved is the Serbian Republic, and not the former Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Deputy Ilija Darmanovic criticized the fact that the declaration was adopted by the Chamber of Citizens without a debate and without anybody having said a thing. In Darmanovic's opinion, the text of the declaration is mild and was the reason the Serbian Radical Party deputies walked out of the session yesterday. [passage omitted]

Declaration on Air Strikes Adopted

LD1504123294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1133 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics of the Federal Assembly today adopted a declaration vehemently condemning the NATO air strikes against the Serbs in former Bosnia-Herzegovina carried out under UN auspices that caused destruction and casualties among the civilian population. [passage omitted]

The declaration was supported by 28 deputies; two voted against.

The same document was adopted by the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly yesterday.

Jovanovic, Greek Counterpart Cited on Sanctions

LD1504165194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1517 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Athens, 15 Apr (TANJUG)—The sanctions of the international community against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have become an obstacle to the restoration of peace and stability in the Balkans, FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic and Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias concluded at their talks in Athens today.

At a joint news conference following the official talks, Jovanovic said it had been agreed in the talks that sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had been made redundant a long time ago by the huge and important changes that had taken place in Bosnia itself and on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The two ministers pointed to the negative consequences of the NATO air strikes against Serb positions in Bosnia and NATO siding with the Muslims. This action dealt a heavy blow to the peace process and the political process in the region, Jovanovic said, adding that now much more time and effort would be necessary to put the peace process back on track.

The sanctions have been inflicting damage even on those who designed and imposed them, Jovanovic said. He stressed there was no longer anyone who would be ready to take part in this, nor support the anachronism that was created in Bosnia and on the territory of former Yugoslavia.

Greek Minister Karolos Papoulias, having expressed pleasure over meeting Jovanovic again, pointed to the need for firmer cooperation between the Balkan countries in resolving the issue of sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Speaking about sanctions, Papoulias said there was "scope for actions within the European Union." However, he spoke more about cooperation between the Balkan countries in that sphere, which, as he said, should take joint action.

"In a series of meetings with Bulgarian and Romanian colleagues, we agreed we would work together on the problem of sanctions," Papoulias said, convinced Hungary and Ukraine would join such an action. He said at today's talks they also discussed the idea of organizing an inter-Balkan conference on cooperation between the states in the Balkan region that would take place when peace was reached on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. "We have agreed with Minister Jovanovic to work in this direction with the ministers of other Balkan states," Papoulias said, listing Romania, Bulgaria, and Hungary as first partners in connection with the idea.

Minister Jovanovic expressed his gratitude to Greece and to the Greek nation for the aid given to the Serb people. "This aid comes from the very soul, and that makes it even more precious," he said, stressing that the Serb and Greek nations were linked by ties of friendship that could not be severed. Jovanovic particularly expressed his gratitude in connection with an action currently taking place in Greece for gathering millions of signatures for a petition to suspend sanctions against the FRY, which would be sent to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali.

The Yugoslav minister said the policy of peace, dialogue, and agreement was a permanent orientation of the FRY. That is why we are asking the international community to treat us on an equal footing. Everything that has been imposed on the Serb nation as a form of punishment must be removed to enable negotiations on an equal basis. "Talks cannot take place under the threat of bombing or under political and economic pressure," Jovanovic said.

It is expected that Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou will receive the Yugoslav foreign minister tomorrow morning.

Sainovic Views Effects of Economic Program

AU1704201794 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 17 Apr 94

[From the "Dnevnik 2" newscast]

[Text] Nikola Sainovic, deputy prime minister of the Federal Government, views for Dnevnik the protection of the dinar, the increase in production, and the first effects of the program for economic recovery.

[Begin Sainovic recording] The situation regarding the implementation of the program is completely stable. The best indication of this that I can present at the moment is that production, industrial production in March has increased in comparison to February by 21.3 percent. Let me remind you that in comparison to January, the production in February increased by 12.4 percent. This is [word indistinct] information that tells everyone that production is increasing. That is the basic reflection of stability. Prices have been stable for some time now, and I can also say that the National Bank's activities have secured (?funds) for procuring raw materials for the economy, in excess of $100 million. This will have a positive effect in the coming months.

Let me also add that the balance of the foreign currency exchange of both citizens and the economy with the National Bank and the merchant banks is positive [sentence as heard]. This means that foreign currency reserves are increasing, while the total activities and complete coordination of the Yugoslav National Bank, the Service for Monetary Transactions [Sluzba za platni promet], and the federal and republican governments has made sure that negative occurrences on the financial market have been efficiently suppressed.

You can see that in the past week the technology of handling ready cash has been altered. This, in turn, has led to a decrease of financial scams and an increased return of ready cash into the channels of monetary transactions. This coordinated activity has decreased the so-called sticung [the cut taken by dealers when selling foreign currency on the black market]. Some of these people are already behind bars. Therefore, this is a simple demonstration of the efficient, synchronized activity of all state bodies in maintaining the stability of the program. [end recording]

Serbia

Russia's Kozyrev Arrives; To Meet Milosevic

LD1604203794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2016 GMT 16 Apr 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, April 16 (TANJUG)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived here on Saturday evening for talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic.

The unscheduled visit of the Russian foreign minister to Belgrade was obviously provoked by the deterioration of the situation in Bosnia which threatens to annul the frantic diplomatic efforts for putting the Bosnian peace process back on the rails.

Russia is actively participating in the process through its special envoy Vitaliy Churkin who is currently in Pale in the Bosnian Serb Republic.

Before leaving for Belgrade, Kozyrev urged a peaceful settlement of the Bosnian crisis and criticized both Moslems and Serbs.

In a statement to the Russian state television channel Ostankino, he said the situation would have been different had NATO consulted Russia about the air raids.

"Had Russia been consulted, a way to cool the hotheads among the Bosnian Serbs might have been found and they would have been advised against shelling Gorazde. With our partners, we would have probably found a way to warn the other side—the Moslems—against provoking the Serbs."

Kozyrev said the Moslem leadership had been undertaking provocative actions and Moslem troops had been opening fire on various sections of the front. "We know that and U.N. officials have confirmed it too."

The Moslems must stop their provocations, the Russian foreign minister said and added that what was needed was maximum restraint rather than a show of heroism on the part of the international community.

Kozyrev allowed for the application of the strictest possible measures, including air strikes, to protect U.N. troops on the ground. "It is quite a different matter whether and to what degree the NATO air raids against Bosnian Serbs had been justified and what was their effect," he said and added their immediate result was a major acceleration of the situation.

Kozyrev also said his deputy, Churkin, was on the spot where he was virtually trying to pin the hands of the Serbs and the Moslems. He is trying to do the same with the West, but so far with little success, he added.

The situation is at a turning point, said Kozyrev and added that thanks to Russia, prospects had been created

for signing peace in Bosnia, after which steps should be taken to ease sanctions against Yugoslavia (Serbia/ Montenegro).

"The Serbs should see some kind of prospects opening before them," he said.

[Belgrade TANJUG in English at 2018 GMT on 16 April transmits the following message: "Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic received late on Saturday Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on the latter's surprise arrival in Belgrade.

Milosevic and Kozyrev are conferring behind closed doors.

Kozyrev made no statement on arrival, but his talks with Milosevic are certain to concern the latest situation in war- shattered Bosnia-Herzegovina."]

Milosevic Proposes Talks With UN

LD1604231994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2235 GMT 16 Apr 94

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Apr (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic has proposed on the basis of today's consultations that top-ranking Bosnian Serb Republic officials, as well as representatives of the United Nations and of those nations that are expected to help, should meet and discuss ways to define the security zone around Gorazde.

Milosevic said in a statement for the press following a two and a half-hour talk with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who unexpectedly arrived in Belgrade this evening, that the meeting on Gorazde would be held tomorrow morning and that the boundaries of the security zone would be determined in accordance with conclusions reached by a mixed commission composed of the representatives of the Bosnian Serbs, the Muslims, and the UN.

Milosevic assessed this evening's talks with Kozyrev as very open. According to him, the talks were devoted to key issues pertaining to the crisis in the region, with special emphasis on the events in Bosnia.

"I am pleased that we have very close, I would say identical, views on many aspects of this question," the Serbian president stressed.

Speaking about the situation in Bosnia, Milosevic said: "The peace process in Bosnia is at a critical point, from where it could very easily escalate into war, but it could also very easily shift towards a final peace."

"We believe that solutions involving small steps and the extinguishing of small fires is not a solution for Bosnia", Milosevic said, and added: "If things are tackled in this way we will constantly have a crisis in which only the geographical name would change, and the war would in this case be difficult to stop."

According to Milosevic, the best solution for the Bosnian conflict would be to reach a comprehensive agreement on the cessation of all hostilities on the entire territory of Bosnia- Herzegovina as soon as possible, without prejudging a political solution, and then to negotiate a final settlement in conditions of peace.

"I am very pleased to note that Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev shares our view that the issue of sanctions is directly linked to the establishment of peace in Bosnia and that Russia has a very objective and constructive approach in this regard," Milosevic said.

Speaking about Gorazde, Milosevic said that the problem of that city should be resolved in conformity with the same principles that govern the global implementation of the project.

"The Muslim side has avoided defining the border of the security zone and has from this area launched a big—as they called it—spring offensive. Later a very complicated situation came about after the collapse of this offensive and the successful counterattack by Serb forces, but also after the unfortunate intervention from the air. This has undoubtedly put back the peace process and to a certain extent compromised the behavior of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force]."

Milosevic said that defining the borders of the safe zone of Gorazde would create the conditions for things to cool off there, and that this would be the "extinguishing of a very difficult and tragic hot spot, but in the context of a general agreement on a cease-fire throughout Bosnia-Herzegovina."

"We will invest all our political influence to see that this is achieved and we hope that we will are successful in this," Milosevic said.

Kozyrev agreed with Milosevic that the talks were very constructive and said he was leaving Belgrade "much more convinced that we shall achieve progress in the peace process."

Kozyrev underlined in a talk with reporters that President Milosevic was involved in the efforts to revive the peace talks and added: "I am an optimist in this respect."

Speaking about ways to resolve the Bosnian conflict, Kozyrev said that the European Union's plan remains on the table and that the United States, Russia, and the European Union were endeavoring to achieve peace on the basis of it.

The Russian foreign minister confirmed that there had also been discussion this evening of the sanctions and said: "We considered the question of sanctions, and Ambassador Churkin prior to this set out the Russian Federation's standpoint on this. If we are partners in the peace process with the European Union and the United States, this partnership must be in the determining of the borders, as well as in relation to the question of the suspension of sanctions. The Russian standpoint must

be considered both in the European Union and in the United States. The road to peace is the road to the lifting of sanctions".

At the end, Kozyrev advocated that UNPROFOR representatives be sent to Gorazde and that the blockade of the Blue Helmets should be lifted "wherever and however they are being held." Thus, he said, the intervention from the air has proved to be ineffectual.

During this evening's talks, it was assessed that the NATO air strikes against Serb positions on 10 and 11 April caused an exacerbation of the situation and brought into question the efforts to establish a full cessation of hostilities in this area. In this context, note was made in particular of the danger of such acts undermining the peace efforts directed towards the normalization of the situation and the creation of the necessary conditions for the resumption of the negotiating process. In this, Russia was directly and actively involved and, in the assessment of President Milosevic, participated in a constructive way.

Taking into account that the peace process has found itself at a point where an escalation of the war and the establishment of peace were equally possible, Milosevic and Kozyrev agreed that forces should be joined in order to achive peace. It was noted that peace was undoubtedly in everybody's interest and that the only road to the establishment of a final peace in these regions led through the cessation of all hostilities.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic expressed his conviction that Russia's peace initiative and the efforts made to implement an overall cessation of hostilities would prevail over the war option, and that the United Nations bore the responsibility to exercise an unbiased approach to all the sides in the conflict.

This evening's talks were also attended by Russian Ambassador in Belgrade Gennadiy Shikin.

Further on Milosevic Statement

AU1704154594 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 17 Apr 94

[Slobodan Jankovic report]

[Excerpt] [Begin recording] [Jankovic] Owing to the extremely tense situation around Gorazde, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Belgrade last night and immediately met with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. The talks lasted two and a half hours, after which the two gave statements for the press and answered several questions. The essence of what was discussed and agreed upon was first disclosed by Serbian President Milosevic.

[Milosevic] We had a very good, open talk about, I would say, key issues, primarily the crisis in this area. The main focus of our talks was on events in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I am pleased to say that we have a very similar, or I would venture to say identical view of many of the aspects of this issue. Namely, to put it briefly, this process over there is at a critical point from which it could easily escalate into war, but could also just as easily take a turn toward lasting peace. That is why we believe that a solution comprised of small steps and the extinguishing of small fires from point to point is not a solution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. This will lead to a state of constant crises, where only the geographical name of the crisis will change, but it will go on permanently and the war will be difficult to stop.

That is why we believe that the best approach is to broker a general cessation of all hostilities on the territory of the entire Bosnia-Herzegovina as soon as possible, but without prejudice regarding the political solution. The peaceful circumstances would give us a lot more space for reaching a final political solution. I am very pleased that Minister Kozyrev shares our approach as regards the fact that the issue of sanctions is directly connected to achieving peace in Bosnia, and that in this respect Russia has a very objective and constructive position. In realizing this general approach, we certainly need to solve the current problem of Gorazde on these same principles. Namely, you are all well aware of the fact that the Muslim side has avoided defining the borders of this protected zone and that it simply launched a massive offensive—the spring offensive they call it—from this area. The situation became more complex later when this offensive was successfully repelled and the Serb forces launched successful counter-attacks, and after the intervention—the (?unnecessary) intervention I would say—from the air. This has undoubtedly set back the peace process and has to a certain degree compromised the behavior of the UN Protection Force. However, we need to find an exit out of this. We suggested today in our mutual consultations that the most responsible people from the Serbian republic and the United Nations—those that are supposed to help—should meet as soon as possible. They have already agreed to meet tomorrow morning [17 April] in order primarily to define the borders of the security zone on the basis of the conclusions of a joint commission—a Serb-Muslim-UN commission. This would create conditions for cooling the temperature there, therefore, it would constitute the extinguishing of a very difficult and tragic focal point, but it should be within the context of a general agreement—which we should all strive for—on the cessation of hostilities on the entire front line in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We assess that we need to invest all our political influence into realizing this and we hope that we shall meet with success. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Biographies of Serbian Ministers

94BA0237C Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 21 Mar 94 pp 12-14

[Article by Milan Milosevic and Dragoslav Grujic, Documentation Center: "New and Old Ministers"]

[Text]

Zoran Sokolovic, Minister of Internal Affairs

A veteran among the ministers. Born 1938 in the village Lepena, Knjazevac Opstina. By nationality Serb. Graduate of the School of Agriculture. Employed after graduation in the Vucje Agricultural Cooperative as production superintendent, and in 1964 became the cooperative's director. It was then that he ended his agricultural career and began his political career.

He was decorated for his effort with the Order of Labor with silver garland.

Zoran Sokolovic was the principal operative at the Eighth Meeting, then the one who took the silk cord to Novi Sad when the advocates of autonomy were overthrown, and, finally, president of the Assembly in the year when the constitution was adopted giving great powers to the president of the republic.

On 8 June 1990, when the first meeting was held between the government and opposition representatives in the offices of the Serbian Republic Executive Council, the government representatives were Zoran Sokolovic, Dusan Mihajlovic, and Ratko Markovic, while the opposition was represented by Vuk Draskovic, Veljko Guberina, Milenko Radic (NRS [People's Radical Party]), Djordje Ninkovic (Democratic Party [DS]), Velimir Cvetic, Ranka Cicak (SDPJ [Social Democratic Party of Yugoslavia]), and Aleksandar Stefanovic (Liberal Party [LS]).

It was agreed at the time that in future a "roundtable discussion" would be held regularly, every Tuesday, but nothing came of that agreement.

He has been a deputy in all three convocations of the Assembly.

In the first convocation of the multiparty Assembly, he was the liaison between SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] deputies and Milosevic. He was elected minister of internal affairs on 30 May 1991, following the resignation of Radmilo Bogdanovic (by a majority of the votes, nine abstaining). During the debate of the Law on Internal Affairs, he responded to the criticism of the deputies: "I have a soul and a heart and it pains me to hear these charges and insinuations." At a time when countless uniformed members of various paramilitary formations were roaming over Serbia, Zoran Sokolovic refused to debate this in the Assembly, because "neither have there been, nor are there now, any paramilitary armed formations whatsoever on the territory of the Republic of Serbia."

In connection with the June demonstrations and the arrest of Vuk Draskovic, Ferenc Cubela (DZVM [Democratic Conference of Vojvodina Hungarians]) reminded the deputies of the SPS of the television pictures from 5-6 October 1988 and of Mr. Zoran Sokolovic with the megaphone, and also of the role he had in Novi Sad. Zoran Sokolovic said in response to that: "There is no need to explain to anyone what happened in 1988 and what has happened now on 1 June, it was witnessed by the entire people not only of this Republic of Serbia of ours, but indeed the entire world. Accordingly, one cannot be exchanged or compared with the other, and I have no further comment."

In the debate on the state of security and safety of the population, he assured the public that "there are no reasons for people to feel hysteria based on fear and insecurity and a feeling of being threatened." At almost the same time, the republic police occupied the buildings of the federal police. In his time as minister, two ministers of the government of Serbia have been arrested (Vlajkovic and Mihajlovic), but proceedings against them have not been terminated to this day.

Finally, a lexical tidbit. The root of the police minister's surname is "sokol [falcon]," defined as "a bird of prey which aristocrats train and use to hunt with." Perhaps the surname has no relation to the character, and it is probably a pure accident that at one time the Serbian government included not only Prime Minister Sainovic (whose surname comes from the Persian word sain, which means "falcon"), but also the police minister had etymologically the same surname—a surname connoting that its owners have, so to speak, a natural instinct which drives them to be obedient to their supreme master and the ability to provide him a good catch, which is a topic made to order for Milja Vujanovic.

Slobodan Radulovic, Deputy Prime Minister

Born 10 January 1943 in prison. His mother Petrana, who was in the Partizans, was pregnant when she was imprisoned in the casemate on Mamula Island, where she had the baby and gave him the symbolic name Slobodan; he spent the first nine months of his life in prison. Radulovic came to Belgrade in 1963 and enrolled in the School of Economics, where he received his degree in 1968. He got his first job in the Belgrade Packinghouse. He has been the director of several firms in the past and the city minister for the economy. Four years ago, he became the head of C Market. Married (his wife Vukica is employed in Elektrodistribucija); they have two daughters (Jelena and Natasa), and they are both studying economics. Owner of a Toyota. Favors the idea that before taking office the property of all ministers should be inventoried, "because the main benefit of this would be for the government. It is time that people left the government without a blemish."

He was a deputy in the Serbian Assembly in the second convocation (1993). In the last election, he was elected on the slate of the DS in the Belgrade electoral unit, he was expelled from the DS because he entered the government, and, according to Djindjic, he will be asked to give up his office. As the director of C Market, during the years of inflation he managed to preserve the capital of his firm, among other things by leasing the stores and vehicles to employees of C Market. These days, he represents himself as "one of the fiercer critics of all governments," which is why he "has often experienced

unpleasantness." He sees the state as a large business firm which must make a profit. He says he would have "no dilemma about resigning because of things which are irregular."

Radovan Pankov, Minister for Liaison With the Serbs Outside Serbia

A teacher from the village Tovarisevo, one of the beneficiaries of the Eighth Meeting. On the wings of the "yogurt revolution" in September 1988, he soared to high posts in the party and government. His ascent began on 20 October 1990; at the First Conference of the SPS for Vojvodina, he was elected to the Main Committee, and then he was Sipovac's rival for the post of president. In the 1990 election, he was elected in the first round (with 55.72 percent of the vote) in the Backa Palanka II and Bac electoral unit, and he obtained the post of vice president of the Assembly. He even used that post to help his son graduate from high school.

That was in late June 1992. Escorted by security, in an official car with police plates, Radovan Pankov visited Podujevo. His son Misa was with him. According to Deputy Zoran Paunovic, Radovan Pankov "came for a working visit to the Podujevo region and the economic giant—the Fagar Construction Fittings Factory, at the invitation of the opstina leadership." During the visit to the business school, Milena Vukotic, a teacher, and principal Grujic hastily questioned young Misa and found that he was a chip off the old block and issued him a diploma from the business school. For the favor which the school's principal did for Pankov, Gvozden Grujic received from the vice president of the Assembly a promise that he would be appointed chief of the Podujevo MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Presumably so that he could deport from Podujevo the teachers who objected to this fast-service graduation of young Misa.

But in addition to his personal worries, Comrade Pankov also worries about affairs of state. Informed sources say that during this war he has been operating from the background, mainly through the so-called National Council for Slavonia, Baranja, and Western Srem, whose headquarters were on territory under Pankov's control—in Backa Palanka. It is from there, it is said, that the "spontaneous uprising" of the people was directed, and many people, among them even Vojislav Seselj, talk about Pankov's role in supplying weapons to Serbs on the other side of the river.

Following the election in May, Radovan Pankov was elected to the Chamber of the Republics, on the candidates' slate of representatives of the Assembly elected by the Assembly of Serbia from among the ranks of its deputies. Aside from these facts, Pankov's qualifications for the post of minister were probably also helped by his assurance that "there would have been no Serbia if it had accepted the ultimatums of the CSCE and the EC. The advocacy of an independent and self-sufficient Serbia by certain opposition parties in Serbia is tantamount to capitulation and the courting of an expanded Germany."

Ratomir Vico, Information Minister

A returnee to the post of minister. Vico was elected minister the first time on 31 July 1991 during the "reconstruction" of the Bozovic government. After 9 March, he headed Television Belgrade. Vico became the truth minister of Serbia after he "differentiated" the editorial staffs as the commissar of numerous working groups following the triumph of the Milosevic faction. At that time, the main curse among Belgrade editors was "May God send Vico's working group to visit you." Following a short period as minister, Vico returned to Television, which is now headed by Milorad Vucelic, and he has been receiving a salary as his adviser, and working on the distribution of fuel within the firm.

The appointment of Vico to be information minister was one of the principal stumbling blocks within the leadership of the SPS. Those who attended say that he was one of the reasons why the discussion about the makeup of the cabinet lasted all night. Only just before dawn did a directive arrive from on high that Vico should be the candidate, and that ended the story about Milivoje Pavlevic's successor.

Radoje Djukic, Minister for Business Enterprise

Born 24 July 1949 in the village Cecuni, Ivangrad Opstina, Montenegro. He is the second member of the Democratic Party detached to work in the Marjanovic government. Radoje Djukic owns the Djukic Knitwear Mill. Last year, he was elected small business manager of the year. A man who has known Marjanovic for many years ("it was my good fortune that we exported together"). The owner of the knitwear factory worked on exports and imports of petroleum and gas from Russia through Italy. He is a member of the Executive Committee of New Belgrade Opstina (he represents the DS in the opstina Assembly), in the opstina government he is chairman of the Committee for Aid to the Krajinas, and, from what he himself says, New Belgrade Opstina is the only one in the FRY which has solved the problem of aid to the krajinas in an institutional way. According to BORBA, he made a custom of working lunches with every prime minister, and he uses the familiar form of address with Milosevic."

Ratko Markovic, Deputy Prime Minister

Born 8 December 1944 in Pozarevac. Author of both constitutions in effect today. He began his career as university professor in Kragujevac. He got his post as professor at the University of Belgrade with the help of his friends in the SK-PJ [League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia] (Draskovic), in that the authors of a textbook made the gentlemanly gesture of consenting to sign him on as an author so that he would fulfill the condition for becoming a professor. As an expert on federalism (position of the provinces), he took part in debates about a "unified Serbia" and then sided politically with Milosevic. He has been a judge on the Constitutional Court, and now he is a deputy in the Citizens Chamber of the Yugoslav Assembly.

Svetozar Krstic, Deputy Prime Minister

Law school graduate. Owner of the Krstic Holding Company. He began his working career in the small provincial town of Odzaci as director of an internal bank, and he entered Serbia's political life as a young official among Milosevic's Communists, for a time he was on the Politburo of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, but at the time when the Communists were renamed Socialists, Krstic changed teams and went over to the ND-PS [New Democracy—Movement for Serbia]. He maintained good business relations with those who had been his comrades up to that time, as indicated by the fact that he was given the post of assistant general director on the team of Dragan Tomic (the one from Simpo). During the transformation of the Yugoslav economy, he became a private businessman and set up his own firm, always in tune with the fashion. When it was profitable to open up exchange offices and savings banks, Krstic also had one of his own.

Montenegro

Journalists' Accreditation Not To Be Withdrawn

LD1504175894 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] Unlike the Belgrade authorities, Montenegro will not withdraw accreditation from foreign journalists, said Information Minister Bozidar Jarebic. He added this action was mostly to the detriment of those who withdrew accreditation. There are many other ways of reaching agreements with journalists. That way Serbia finally showed that isolation was its permanent political choice.

Kosovo

Rugova on Russian 'Flexibility,' Other Issues

AU1504161994 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 15 Apr 94

[Text] [Announcer] President of the republic of Kosova Dr. Ibrahim Rugova held a news conference in Prishtina today. Let us go over to a telephone report by Skender Durmishi:

[Durmishi] At today's news conference, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the republic of Kosova, asked the UN Security Council to examine the question of repression in Kosova and to demand, through a resolution, an international protectorate there. Such a system of international protection, Rugova said, would be a reward for the peaceful resistance of the Albanians and would at the same time interrupt the intolerable police repression in localities and villages of Kosova.

Rugova also informed reporters that this week, repression and other police actions, assuming the dimensions of a campaign, have occurred in 23 communes and in hundreds of Kosovar villages. As usual, this repression has been accompanied by fierce brutality through arrests, destruction, violent press-ganging, etc. At the same time, the persecution of political activists and local government officials has continued. Military movements have been observed in the region of Gjakove, Prizren, Peje, and in Han i Elezit.

Presenting details and other data on the repression, the president of Kosova said that in addition to the already known motives, the aim of this repression is to instigate a backlash against the violence and provocations among the Albanian population, to which the Albanians have not succumbed.

Despite the repression, Dr. Rugova pointed out that this week Kosova is at the center of the international community's attention. He greeted all the statements and other reactions, demanding prevention of a conflict in Kosova.

Supporting the NATO attack on Serbian weapons in Bosnia, Dr. Rugova asked for the destruction of the arms, being the main cause of wars and tragedies in the region. He again reminded reporters that the arms were obtained through the sweat of all the peoples of Yugoslavia. Based on an approach with mystical elements, as he called it, Rugova stressed that we do not exclude the possibility that one day the arms will be turned onto the Serbs themselves.

In the context of these political observations, Mr. Rugova expressed the hope that Russia will manifest the proper flexibility on the crisis in former Yugoslavia. Meanwhile, he asked Greece for a more mature stance in conformity with the rules of good-neighborliness.

At the end of the conference, Rugova suggested as a preferred form for a global and efficient solution the total pacification of all the regions in former Yugoslavia because of the serious threats for further expansion of the crisis and war in these areas.

Condemning the demands of Serbian officials to close the Soros Foundation and several world news agencies, Mr. Rugova considered them as attempts to turn these areas into ghettos with elements of an absurd confrontation with the world. He thanked the commitment of the Soros Foundation and offered further cooperation with this foundation as far as the possibilities and the institutions of our system permitted.

President Rugova also repeated the demand that, as member of the former Yugoslav Federation, Kosova should be granted the right to secession, with all the rights and obligations deriving from it. He also spoke of more intensive contacts with the UN High Commission for Refugees to prevent Serbian attempts to colonize Kosova.